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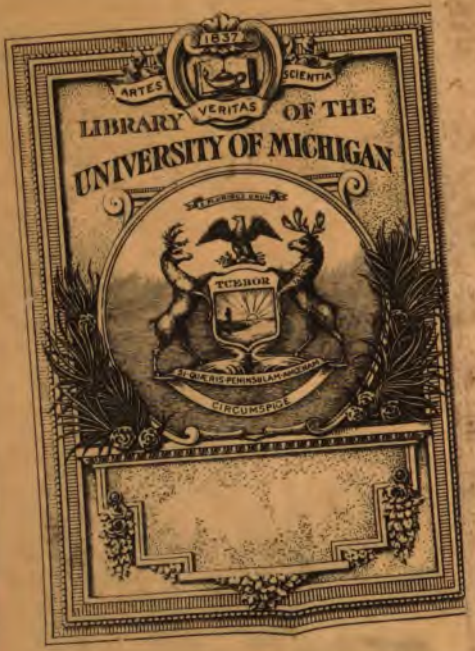
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THE WORKS OF FRANCIS OSBORNE Esq;

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In Four several TRACTS.

Viz.

1. *Advice to a Son*, in two Parts.
2. *Political Reflections on the Government of the* Turks, &c.
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The Seventh Edition.

LONDON, Printed for *R.D.* and are to be sold by *Allen Baneks*, at the Sign of St. *Peter* at the West end of St. *Pauls*. 1673.

ADVICE TO A SON.

OR,

Directions for your better Conduct through the various and most important Encounters of this Life.

Under these General Heads.

1. *Studies*, &c.
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By FRANCIS OSBORN Esq;

The First Part.

LONDON,
Printed in the Year, 1673.

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TO THE READER.

Such as make it their buſineſs, with the Spider, to ſuck out the Crudities and Corruptions in Books, are unlikely to fail of Matter here; yet may come far ſhort of the Credit and Good might accrue to themſelves and others, did they pore leſs on what is really amiſs, and more on that not yet brought under a perfect Knowledge (unpoſſible to be taken up pure by thoſe that begin but now to ſcramble for it:) New Opinions, though perhaps untrue, rather gaining than

loſing Repute by Oppoſition. This breeds matter of wonder, why ſo many ſhould hazard their Fame, by running and yelping after thoſe prodigious Wits of this laſt Age, B D H, &c. *Men not unable with* Abner, *to ſilence theſe ſwifter Writers with the Butt-end of their Quils; and ſo richly endowed from Nature, as they are able to Trafick upon their ſingle ſtock, without obliging the credit of ancient Authors; who, for ought I know, were of poorer Parts, and might learn of them, were they in being. This is ſaid to honour thoſe that can take their paſtime in the Depths of Reaſon; and not to ſhroud my poor Intereſt under theirs, whoſe Books deſerve better Coverings than can be picked out of the choiceſt of my Papers, or theirs that have the impudence to traduce them. It cannot be denied, but that, in imitation of Sea-men, I may perhaps by deſign have caſt out ſome empty ſtuff, to find play for the Whale mouthed ga-*

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pers after Levity; leſt they ſhould ſpoil the Voyage, which for the good of Poſterity, I have ſo long made, beyond thoſe Pillars, the liberty of theſe times hath afforded Wiſdom a larger Paſport to travel, than was ever able formerly to be obtained, when the World kept her fettered in an implicite Obedience, by the three-fold cord of Cuſtom, Education and Ignorance.

The Reaſon why the Authors name is affixed to this Edition, is given by himſelf in another Piece in this Book.

TO HIS SON.

SON,

I Have forborn to ſet *your Name* on the Forehead of theſe Aphoriſms, not that I am aſhamed either of *Them* or *You*; but for ſuch like Reaſons.

Firſt, Becauſe ſome *Truths*, I here indeavour to make legible, the Tyranny of *Cuſtom* and *Policy* labours to conceal, as deſtructive to the Project of *Government*; and therefore unlikely to paſs by wiſe men, without *a formal reproof*; who have been long ſince taught by unerring Experience, that *Ignorance draws with the leaſt reluctancy in the yoke of Obedience*; being of ſo ſheepiſh a Nature, as ſhe is *no bodies Foe but her own*.

Next, to ſpare you the trouble of arming your Reaſon, in way of defence, upon every Alarm they may receive from the *Cenſures* of wiſer or weaker Judgments: For not carrying the marks of your particular Intereſt, you may ſtand, as it were, unſeen, behind the Curtain of Indifferency, and hear, without bluſhing, the Opi-

nions

nions of others, if Chance or your Will ſhould pleaſe to make Them the object of their Diſcourſe.

Amongſt whom, if any accuſe them, as too *cheap* and obvious; they are unadviſed Queſtioners of their own Charter, in caſe they ſhould be *Fathers*: who were *never denied* yet *the freedom to teach their Children to manage an Hobby-horſe*, without offering violence to Gravity or Diſcretion.

Neither do we ſo ordinarily fall through the unevenneſs or difficulty of the *Way*, as careleſsneſs and Ignorance in the *Journals of former Experience*: This makes it the greateſt demonſtration of *Paternal Affection*, with the Pelican, to diſſect my ſelf before you, and by ripping up mine own Bowels, to let you ſee where *the defects of Humanity* reſide; which are not only the occaſions of many Diſeaſes, but of moſt of the Misfortunes accompanying this Life.

And though in paſſing through ſo much weakneſs, They are rendred more deficient, than conſidered in their own Nature, in truth they are: Yet being the beſt I am able to afford you, They cannot but be looked upon (by you) for as lively a Monument of my Love, as if they bare the Magiſterial Impreſs of a Work of *Solomons*.

And

And in regard of *Time*, none can be more opportune than this, in which men carry breasts of Steel against those of their own Profession (some niceties excepted) under the imperious pretence of Religion.

If any blinded with Ignorance, or misled by a more candid Nature, should engage for the *sufficiency* of These, or any thing else I have writ, that may perhaps hereafter be made publick: I am conscious of too many flaws in my self, to be swelled beyond my natural proportion.

Your sake alone produced Them, that during the little time I have to live, you might turn to my Judgment, upon all occasions, without trouble; and converse with me being dead without Fear.

There is no great difference between good days and evil when past; yet if thus fortified by the *Advice* of a *Father*, no less than the *Prayers* of an incomparable indulgent *Mother*, you should break out into *Extravagancies*, presuming on the Opinion of your own Judgment, and the mediation of our Love, (though it would be the severest Curse remaining in the custody of Fortune, yet unlaid upon me:) I doubt not but to receive more Comfort from a Patience able to bear it, than you shall from a Repentance sufficient to blot it out.

But

But it is neither Delight in me, nor Charity unto you, by Jealouſie to antedate *Crimes never yet committed*; I deſire you therefore to take *theſe Admonitions*, as *marks to ſail by*, *not* for *preſages of Shipwrack*.

For any *Faults* eſcaped here, through haſte, or other infirmity, I hope your Love will be large enough to cover them; not expoſing, out of Oſtentation or Idleneſs, *your Fathers ſhame*: whereby not only what is perfect may prove uſeful, but the very miſtakes and Blots obtain as great a Deſign, by exerciſing your Wit and Induſtry in their *Emendation*; which I expect you ſhould faithfully perform in relation to Theſe, or any thing elſe you find, may traduce the Credit or ſtain the Memory of

Your loving Father, &c.

ADVICE

ADVICE TO A SON.

I. Studies, &c.

1. THough I can never pay enough to *your Grandfathers* Memory, for his tender care in my *Education*, yet I muſt obſerve in it this Miſtake; That by keeping me at *home*, where I was one of *my young Maſters*, I loſt the advantage of my moſt docile time. For not undergoing the ſame Diſcipline, I muſt needs come ſhort of their Experience, that are bred up in *Free-Schools*; who, by plotting to rob an Orchard, &c. run through all the Subtilties required in taking of a Town: being made, by uſe, familiar to *Secreſie*, and *Compliance with opportunity*; Qualities never after to be attained at cheaper rates than the hazard of all: whereas theſe ſee the danger of Truſting others, and the rocks they fall upon, by a too obſtinate adhering to their own imprudent reſolutions: and all this, under no higher penalty than a Whipping: And 'tis poſſible this Indulgence of my Father might be the cauſe I afforded him ſo poor a Return for all his Coſt. But

But though *Children* attain to an exacter *knowledge*, both of *themſelves* and the *world*, in *Free* and populous *Schools*, than under a more ſolitary Erudition; yet I think the *charity* of our *Forefathers* in nothing ſo much miſtaken, as in the vaſt ſums they imployed in theſe (more ſeeming than real) *pious uſes*, which now much redounds to the prejudice of the *Plough*, and the more beneficial *Manufactures* of our Nation: The Sons of the *Menu* lying ſo long under this *lazie courſe*, that they are rendered ever after reſty to Labour and Travel: which fills the Common-wealth with *Thieves* and *Beggers*; no way to be prevented, but by garbling out of them all Boys of an *incapacity*, and retaining none that make not more than an ordinary demonſtration of an extraordinary propenſity to *learning*: ſince through the contrary Practice, we lie under the Curſe *Jeroboam* brought upon *Iſrael*: For by making *the meaneſt of the People*, both for Parts and Birth, and ſo of the leaſt credit, *Prieſts*, Religion is now fallen into contempt.

2. As your Education hath been befriended by a *Foundation*, ſo you may endeavour the Requital, if God makes you able: However let not the contrary afflict you; ſince it is obſerved by ſome, That *his name who burnt the Temple of Diana, outlaſted theirs that built it*; a fortune God grant may never fall upon our *Univerſities*. Nevertheleſs, if *Zeal*, over-heated in the narrow hearts of men ignorant and covetous, ſhould dry up the *Fountains of Learning*, by appropriating their *Revenues*, and demoliſhing thoſe

those *Monuments* (to the fame of which forraign Nations resort in Pilgrimages, for to offer up honour and admiration to these Shrines, never empty of glorious Spirits, and return more loaden with Satisfaction, than they could possibly bring Prejudice) yet she should pull down no more, than she had formerly raised, when incited, by a contrary affection, to Charity and Knowledge: therefore, a provocation not strong enough to distemper a wise mans patience; who may easily observe, in his own or precedent books of Experience, as great Maps of *Devastation*: For, if *one Age* did not *level*, *what another* had *erected*, Variety were lost, and no means left to render the present or future Generations famous or infamous. However such, as by disobliging Learning and good Wits, frown upon their Painters, cannot expect, their Pictures should be conveyed true or fair to Posterity.

3. Let not an over-passionate prosecution of Learning draw you from making an honest *improvement* of *your Estate*; as such do, who are better read in the Bigness of the whole Earth, than that little Spot, left them by their Friends, for their support.

4. A *mixt Education suites Imployment best*: *Scholars* and *Citizens*, by a too long plodding in the same track, have their *experience* seldom dilated beyond the Circle of a narrow Profession; of which they carry so apparent marks, as bewray, in all places, by their *Words* and *Gestures*, the *Ped* and *Company* they were brought up in: so that all ways of Preferment

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are ſtopped againſt them, through others prejudice, or their own natural inſufficiency; it being ordinary, in their Practice, to miſtake a wilful *Inſolency* for a reſolute *Confidence*, and *Pride* for *Gravity*: The ſhortneſs of the *Teder*, their long reſtraint confin'd them to, not affording convenient room to take a decent meaſure of *virtue* and *vice*. So by uſing others as they were dealt with themſelves, repute is loſt when they come to command: It being juſtified in Hiſtory, that *Slaves*, after they have forgot all fear of the *ſword*, cannot ſhake off the terrour of the *whip*. Therefore few not freely educated, can wear decently the habit of a *Court*, or behave themſelves in ſuch a mediocrity, as ſhall not diſcover too much Idolatry towards thoſe in a ſuperiour orb, or diſdain in relation to ſuch, as Fortune rather than Merit hath poſſibly placed below them.

5. I have obſerved in *Collegiate diſcipline*, That all the *Reverenee* to *Superiors*, learn'd in the Hall or Chappel, is loſt in the *irreverent diſcourſe* you have of them in your Chambers: by this, you leave *the principal buſineſs of Youth* neglected; which is, *to be perfect in Patience and Obedience:* Habits no where ſo exactly learned, as in the *foundations* of the *Jeſuits*, could they be fetcht thence without prejudice to Religion or Freedom.

6. If a more profitable employment pull you not too ſoon from the Univerſity, make ſome inſpection into *Phyſick*; which *will add to your welcome where ever you come:* it being uſual, eſpecially for Ladies, to yield no leſs reverence

to

to their Phyſitians, then their Confeſſours: Neither doth the refuſal of Fees abate your profit proportionably to the advancement it brings to your Credit: The Intricacy of the Study is not great, after an exact knowledge in *Anatomy* and *Drugs* is attained; not hard, by reaſon of the late helps. Yet I adviſe you This, under ſuch Caution, as *not to Imagine the Diſeaſes you read off, inherent in your ſelf*; as ſome melancholick young men do, that make their firſt Experiments upon their own Bodies, to their perpetual detriment: Therefore you may *live* By, *not* Upon *Phyſick*.

7. Do not proſecute beyond a ſuperficial knowledge, any *Learning* that moves upon no ſtronger leggs, than the tottering baſis of *conjecture* is able to afford it: For though you may pleaſe your ſelf in your own conceit, it will not be ſo eaſie to ſatisfie others: The capacity of the ignorant lying as much below ſuch Speculations, as the more knowing are above them: there remaining to all, in things dubious, a power to reject, or admit what opinions they pleaſe. Therefore no *Study* is worth a mans whole imployment, that comes not accompanied with *Profit*, or ſuch unanſwerable *Reaſons*, as are able to ſilence all future debate; Not to be found out of the Liſt of the *Mathematicks*, the Queen of Truth, that impoſeth nothing upon her Subjects, but what ſhe proves due to belief by infallible demonſtration: The only knowledge we can on Earth gain, likely to attend us to Heaven. As for *other humane Learning*, ſo much of it as is

not hewed out of this rock, is nothing but Lumber and Forms, owned for the majesty and employment only of *Academies*, and of little better use than to find Discourse by the fires sides Yet though it cannot be denyed, that *Number*, and *Measure*, were all the Journey-men God had during his six days labour; my memory reacheth the time, when the Generality of People thought her most useful *branches*, *Spels*, and her *Professors*, *Limbs of the Devil*; converting the Honour of *Oxford*, due for her (though at that time slender) proficiency in *this Study*, to her shame: Not a few of our then foolish *Gentry*, refusing to send their Sons thither, lest they should be smutted with the *Black Art*; a term found out by a no less dark *Ignorance*, the only enemy to this Angelical knowledge. Nor is this a prodigie in the circulation of Time, as might easily be instanced, did discretion allow the same liberty to the dissectors of the present age, as she doth for those past: Neither can you make application of any example better, than of this, to diswade you from affording an immoderate proportion of Benevolence, or Malignity in relation to any thing, others condemn or approve.

8. Huge *Volumes*, like the Oxe rosted whole at *Bartholomew Fair*, may proclaim plenty of Labour and Invention, but afford less of what is delicate, savory and well concocted, than *smaller Pieces*: This makes me think, that though, upon occasion, you may come to the Table and examine the Bill of Fare, set down by such *Authors*; yet it cannot but lessen

ingenuity,

ingenuity, ſtill to fall aboard with them; *Humane ſufficiency being too narrow, to inform with the pure Soul of Reaſon, ſuch vaſt Bodies.*

9. As the Grave hides the Faults of *Phyſick*, no leſs than Miſtakes, Opinion and contrary applications are known to have inriched the Art withall; ſo many *old books*, by like advantages rather than deſert, have crawled up to an eſteem above *new*: It being the buſineſs of better heads perhaps than ever their writers owned, to put a glorious and ſignificant *gloſs* upon the meaneſt conceit or improbable opinion of *Antiquity*: Whereas *Modern Authors* are brought by *Criticks* to a ſtrict account for the ſmalleſt ſemblance of a miſtake. If you conſider this ſeriouſly, it will learn you more moderation, if not wiſdom.

10. Be converſant in the *Speeches*, *Declarations* and *Tranſactions* occaſioned by the *late Wars*: out of which more natural and *uſeful knowledge* may be ſucked, than is ordinary to be found in the mouldy Records of Antiquity.

When I conſider, with what Contradiction *Reports* arrived at us, during our late civil Wars: I can give the leſs encouragement to the reading of *Hiſtory*: *Romances*, never acted, being born purer from Sophiſtication than Actions reported to be done, by which poſterity hereafter, (no leſs than Antiquity heretofore) is likely to be led into a falſe, or at beſt, but a contingent belief. *Ceſar*, though in this happy, that he had a Pen able to grave into neat language what his Sword had firſt more roughly cut out, may in my judgement, abuſe his Reader: For he, that

for the honour of his own Wit, doth make people *ſpeak better*, than can be ſuppoſed men ſo barbarouſly bred were able, may poſſibly report they *fought worſe*, then really they did. Of a like value are the *Orations* of *Thucidides*, *Livy*, *Tacitus*, and moſt other Hiſtorians: which doth not a little prejudice the truth of all the reſt.

Were it worthy or capable to receive ſo much illumination from one never made welcom by it, I ſhould tell the World (as I do you) *There is as little reaſon to believe, Men know certainly all they* write, *as to think they* write *all they* Imagine: and as this cannot be admitted without danger, ſo the other, though it may in ſhame be denyed, is altogether as true.

11. A *few books* well ſtudied, and throughly digeſted, nouriſh the underſtanding more, than hundreds but gargled in the mouth, as ordinary Students uſe: And of theſe *Choice* muſt be had anſwerable to the *Profeſſion* you intend: For a States-man, *French Authors* are beſt, as moſt fruitful in *Negotiations* and *Memoires*, left by publick Miniſters, and by their Secretaries publiſhed after their deaths: Out of which you may be able to unfold the Riddles of all States: None making more faithful reports of things done in all nations, than *Embaſſadours*; who cannot want the *beſt intelligence*, becauſe their Princes Penſioners unload in their boſoms, all they can diſcover. And here, by way of prevention, let me inform you, that ſome of our late *Embaſſadors* (which I could name) impaired our affairs, by *treating with foraign Princes in the language of the Place*: by which they did not only

only deſcend below their Maſters dignity but their own diſcretion; betraying for want of words of gravity, the intrinſick part of their Employment: and going beyond their *Commiſſion*, oftner by conceſſion, than confining themſelves within it, or to it; *the true Rule for a Miniſter of State*, not hard to be gained by a reſolute conteſt: which if made by an Interpreter, he like a medium, may intercept the ſhame of any impertinent ſpeech, which eagerneſs or indiſcretion may let ſlip: Neither is it a ſmall advantage to gain ſo much time for deliberation, what is fit farther to urge: It being beſides, too much an honouring of their Tongue and undervaluing your own, to profeſs your ſelf a Maſter therein, eſpecially ſince they ſcorn to learn yours. And to ſhew this is not grounded on my ſingle Judgement, I have often been informed, that the firſt and wiſeſt *Earl of Penbroke*, did return an Anſwer to the Spaniſh Embaſſador, in *Welch* for which I have heard him highly commended.

12. It is an Aphoriſm in Phyſick, That *unwholeſome Airs*, becauſe perpetually ſuck'd into the lungs, *do diſtemper health more than courſer Diet*, uſed but at ſet times: The like may be ſaid of *Company*, which if *good*, is *a better Refiner of the ſpirits, than ordinary Books.*

13. Propoſe not them for patterns, who make all places *rattle*, where they come, with *Latine and Greek*; For *the more you ſeem to have borrowed from books, the poorer you proclaim your natural Parts*, which only can properly be called yours.

14. Follow not the tedious practice of such as seek *Wisdom* only in *Learning:* not attainable but by *Experience* and *natural Parts. Much Reading*, like a too great repletion, stopping up, through a concourse of diverse, sometimes contrary, Opinions, the Access of a nearer, newer and quicker *Invention* of your own. And for *Quotations*, they resemble *Sugar in wine*, marring the natural taste of the liquor, if it be good; if bad, that of it self: such *patches* rather making the *rent* seem greater, by an interruption of the stile, than less, if not so neatly applyed as to fall-in without *drawing*: Nor is any *Thief* in this kind sufferable, who comes not off, like a *Lacedemonian*, without discovery.

15. Spend no time in reading, much less writing *Strong-lines*: which *like tough meat, ask more pains and time in chewing, than can be recompensed by all the nourishment they bring.*

16. *Books stately writ* debase your stile; the like may be truly objected to *weak Preachers*, and *ignorant Company*. Pens Improving, like childrens leggs, proportionally to their *Exercise* (so as I have seen some stand amazed at the Length of their own reach, when they came to be extended by Employment;) This appeared in the late King *Charles*, who, after his more imperious destiny, had placed him under the Tutorage of an unavoidable necessity, attained a *Pen* more Majestical, than the *Crown* he lost. And, though *King James* had such an over esteem of his own *Learning*, that he Imagined all who deserved in that kind, robed

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the Monument he ſought to build to his Fame; the Foundation of which he fondly conceited to have laid in the Opinion of the World by his Printed *Books*, believing they would be valued by impartial Poſterity, at the ſame rate his Flatterers ſet them up to in his life time; Yet in this he was ſo far exceeded by *his Son*, that all that come after may learn, *Experience is a better Tutor than Buchanan.*

17. The way to *Elegancy of ſtile*, is to employ your Pen upon every Errand; and the more trivial and dry it is, the more Brains muſt be allowed for Sauce: Thus by checking all ordinary Invention, your Reaſon will attain to ſuch an habit, as not to dare to preſent you but with what is excellent: and if void of Affectation, it matters not how mean the ſubject is: There being the ſame Exactneſs obſerved, by good Architects, in the ſtructure of the Kitchin, as the Parlour.

18. When buſineſs or Complement calls you to *write Letters*, Conſider what is fit to be ſaid, were the Party preſent, and ſet down That.

19. Avoid *Words* or *Phraſes* likely to be learned in baſe company: leſt you fall into the Error, the late Archbiſhop *Laud* did: who though no ill ſpeaker, yet blunted his repute by ſaying in the Star-chamber, *Men entred the Church as a tinker and his Bitch do an Alehouſe.* But this may eaſily be declined by thoſe who read for their imitation *the incomparable lines of the late King*, written in a ſtile as free from affectation as levity.

20. The ſmall reckoning I have ſeen made

(especially in their life time) of excellent *Wits*, bids me advise you, that if you find any delight in *writing* to go on: But, in hope to please, or satisfie others, I would not blark the end of a quill; For long experience hath taught me, That *Builders* always and *Writers* for the most part *spend their money and time in the purchase of Reproof and Censure* from envious Contemporaries, or self conceited Posterity. He that gets the good word of his Reader, hath nothing else to look for, nor ask: Therefore if you would happily attain your end, Imitate an active Gentleman, I knew, who passing by such as threw the *Bar*, would take it up and pitch it as far as he was able, the first time, and so leave them: Now few could out-throw him; and such as did, came short in credit; Because it was the general Opinion, that he who without untrussing, or making such a preparation as the Clowns use to do, could at the first go so far, must needs with an other assay or two, have out gone them all; though in truth he could not. Thus had he not only his own strength, but the Peoples, which lies in Opinion, to advance him.

21. Be not frequent in *Poetry*, how excellent soever your vein is, but make it *rather your Recreation, than Business*: Because, though it swels you in your own opinion, it may render you less in that of wiser men, who are not ignorant, how great a mass of Vanity, for the most part coucheth under this Quality, Proclaiming their *Heads, like ships of use only for pleasure, and for riches in Trimming, than Lading.*

It

It is incident to many, but as it were natural with Poets, to *think others take the like pleasure in hearing, as they do in reading their own inventions.* Not considering, that the generality of ears are commonly stopped with prejudice or Ignorance: Neither can the *Understandings* of men, any more than their *Tasts*, be wooed to find a like savour in all things; one approving what others condemn, upon no weightier an account, than the single score of their own Opinions. Yet some, like infirm people, make it the chief part of their entertainment, *to shew strangers their gouty Lines*; in which they do not seldom become more unhappy, than those really diseased, who by such boldness do sometimes hear of a *Remedy*, whereas the others render themselves incurable: For though neat *Wits*, like fair *Ladies*, may take a Pleasure in making communicable the Beauty of their Parts: yet they both appear most grateful, when they are obtained with strugling and blushing.

22. The art of *Musick* is so unable to refund for the Time and Cost required to be perfect therein, as I cannot think it worth any serious endeavour; The owner of that Quality being still obliged to the trouble of calculating the difference between the morose humour of a rigid Refuser, and the cheap and prostituted levity and forwardness of a mercenary Fidler. Deniall being as often taken for Pride, as a too ready complyance falls under the notion of Ostentation: Those so qualified seldom knowing when it is time to begin, or give over: especially

ally *Women*, who do, not rarely decline in modeſty, proportionably to the progreſs they make in *Muſick*: ſuch (if handſom) being *Traps baited at both Ends*, and catch ſtrangers as often as their Husbands, no leſs tired with the one than the other.

23. Wear your *Cloaths neat*; exceeding, rather than comming ſhort of others of like fortune; a Charge born out by Acceptance where ever you come: Therefore *ſpare all other ways rather than prove defective in this.*

24. Never *buy* but *with ready money*, and be drawn rather to fix where you find things *Cheap* and *Good*, than for *Friendſhip* or *Acquaintance*, who are apt to take it unkindly, if you will not be cheated. For if you get nothing elſe by going from one Shop to another, you ſhall gain Experience.

25. Next to Cloaths, a *good Horſe* becomes a Gentleman; in whom can be no great loſs, after you have got the *skill to chooſe him*, which once attained, you may keep your ſelf from being cozened, and pleaſure your friend: The greateſt danger is *Haſt*: I never lov'd to fix on one *Fat*, for then I ſaw him at the beſt, without hope of improvement; If you have fallen on *a bargain not for your turn*, make the Market your Chapman, rather than a Friend.

26. *Gallop* not through a *Town*, for fear of hurting your ſelf or others: Beſides the undecency of it; which may give cauſe to ſuch as ſee you, to think your Horſe, or Brains, none of your own.

27. *Wreſtling* and *Vaulting* have ever been looked

looked upon by me, as more useful than *Fencing*, being often outdar'd by Resolution, because of the vast difference between a Foyn and a Sword, an House and a Field.

28. *Swimming* may save a man, in case of necessity; though it looseth many, when practised in wantonness, by increasing their confidence; Therefore, for Pleasure exceed not your depth; and *in seeking to save another, beware of drowning your self.*

29. Though *Machiavell* sets down *Hunting* and *Hawking* in the Bill of Advice he prescribes to a Prince, as not only the wholsomest and cheapest Diversions, both in relation to himself and his people, but the best Tutors to Horsemanship, Stratagems and Situations on which he may have after occasion to place an Army. Yet these are so much in the disposition of Chance (the most delightful part being wholly managed according to the sense of the creature) that by such cross accidents, as do not seldom intervene, storms of Choler are often raised, in which many humours flash out, that in a greater serenity prudence would undoubtedly conceal: so as I could name some, reputed owners of an habit of Policy, more ruffled, and farther put out of their bias, by a small rub lying in the way of their pleasure, than a greater could cause in that of their Profit. And as sinister events in these Pastimes deject a man below the ordinary level of discretion, so a happy success doth as often winde him up to such a jovial pin, that he becomes a familiar Companion to those who can inform his judgement in little, but what

what ſignifies nothing, and whom in a more reſerved temper he would think it tedious to hear: yet cannot after ſhake off their acquaintance, without incurring the cenſure of Pride or Inconſtancy. Neither am I led to this opinion by any particular diſaffection, but out of the greater reverence I bear to the wiſdom of Sir *Philip Sidney*, who ſaid, that *Next* Hunting *he liked* Hawking *worſt*. However though he may have fallen into as hyperbolical an extream, yet who can put too great a ſcorn upon their folly, that to bring home a raskal *Deer*, or a few rotten *Coneys*, ſubmit their Lives to the will or paſſion of ſuch as may take them, under a penalty no leſs ſlight, than there is diſcretion ſhewed in expoſing them.

30. Such as are betrayed, by their eaſie nature, to be ordinary *Security* for their Friends, leave ſo little to themſelves, as their Liberty remains ever after arbitrary at the will of others. Experience having recorded many (whom their Fathers had left elbow-room enough) that by *Suretiſhip* have expired in a Dungeon. But if you cannot avoid this Labyrinth, enter no farther than the thread of your own ſtock will reach; the obſervation of which will, at worſt, enable you to bail your ſelf.

Let not the *Titles of Conſanguinity* betray you into a prejudicial Truſt: No blood being apter to raiſe a Fever, or cauſe a Conſumption ſooner in your poor Eſtate, than that which is neareſt your own; as I have moſt unhappily found, and your good Grandfather preſaged, though God was pleaſed to leave it in none of

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our powers to prevent: Nothing being truer in all *Solomon's* Obſervations, than that *A good Friend is nearer than an unnatural Brother.*

31. He that *lends upon publick Faith is Security for his own money*; and can blame none more than himſelf; if never paid: Common Debts, like common Lands, lying ever moſt neglected.

32. Honeſty treats with the World upon ſuch vaſt diſadvantage, that a *Pen is* often *as uſeful to defend you as a Sword*, by making *Writing* the witneſs of your *Contracts*: For where Profit appears, it doth commonly cancell the Bands of Friend-ſhip, Religion, and the memory of any thing that can produce no other regiſter, than what is Verbal.

33. In a caſe of importance, hear the *Reaſons of Others* pleaded, but be ſure not to be ſo implicitely led by their judgements, as to neglect a greater of your *Own*: As *Charles* of *England* did, to the loſs of his Crown. For as the ordinary Saying is, *Count money after your Father*; So the ſame Prudence adviſeth, to meaſure the Ends of all Counſels; though uttered by never ſo intimate a Friend.

24. Beware nevertheleſs of thinking your ſelf Wiſer or greater than you are. *Pride* brake the Angels in Heaven, and ſpoils all heads we find crackt here; for ſuch as obſerve thoſe in *Bedlam*, ſhall perceive their Fancies to beat moſt upon miſtakes in Honour, or Love. The way to avoid it is, duly to conſider, how *many* are *above you in Parts*, yet *below you in Condition*:

And

And that all men are ignorant in ſo many things; as may juſtly humble them, though ſufficiently knowing to bar out deſpair.

Shun *Pride* and *Baſeneſs*, as Tutors to contempt; the firſt of Others, the latter of your ſelf: A haughty Carriage putting as well a mean eſteem on what is praiſe worthy in you, as an high Exciſe on that appears amiſs, *every one* being *more inquiſitive after the blemiſhes, then Beauties of a Proud Perſon*; whereas the Humble Soul paſſeth the ſtricteſt Guards with more faults, like the fair mouth'd Traveller, without ſcorn, or ſearching.

Though it be common with the King of Heaven, to *Puniſh the wicked and Reward the good*; yet we find him ſaid to *Reſiſt* no vice, but *Pride*, nor *Exalt* other vertue, than *Humility*: *That* being the only Sin we read of, ever brake into his Court, unwaſhed by forgiveneſs; where ſhe became the firſt precedent of Gods leſſening his Family, and the Foundreſs of Hell. Nor are his Vicegerents upon Earth more auſpicious to a *loſty look*, for any affection they do naturally bear to it, or its owners: though ſometimes they diſſemble their diſlike, out of the uſe they make of ſuch good Parts, as have the ill fortune to be ſo accompanied. This vice being taken as intruſion upon *Majeſty*, the only birthright of Princes. Therefore (dear Son) let not the apprehenſion of your merit lead you up to this pinacle, from whence many have fallen, to their utter ruine. Nothing you find about you being your own, but ſcraps ſtol-

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len from Books, and begged, or rather dearly bought of Experience: This proves the vanity of Pride, that though she is able to boast of no more than she hath received: (the Hive being possibly altred, but not the Honey) Yet she is ravished so with the conceit of what she hath (a contemplation befitting only the Lord of all things) as to neglect a supply of what is wanting: which, justly summed up, amounts to more than the abilities of any one man are able to reach.

35. King *James* used to say of a Person in high place about him, that *he* ever *trembled at his approach, it minded him so of his Pedagogue.* Truth is; a *supercilious aspect* might be more sutable to the Court of Spain, where men seem wiser than they are, than that of *England*, where they for the most part were wiser, than at the first sight they appeared to be: No Princes delighting to see *Anxiety* painted before them, when free from perturbation themselves: no more than a joyful countenance, when their affairs or humour calls for a contrary aspect: to which a Courtier is bound in wisdom to sute his *Gestures*; who are more generally pleased with a *Sanguine complexion*, than such as own a *dismal and melancholly look.* But *Kings* are Heteroclites, and so far from being comprized under general Rules, that it is not possible sometimes for Patience her self to decline their Malignity, or find a temperament sutable unto them: only this I leave you as an Experimented Aphorism, that at all times, but especially

ally when good or bad *newes* is expected, such as *whisper*, make any *sudden noise*, or *approach hastily* to the Throne, put them in disaray, either deluding their Hopes, or anticipating their Fears. In a word, the best way to keep you in esteem with great ones, is, to observe such a mannerly circumspection, as your *accesses* may be neither terrible, nor tedious.

36. To *whisper* with another, in company of your betters, is *uncivil*, and the more eminent the person is, the greater suspicion it raiseth, who owns an interest in the exposition of all things done or said in his presence by meaner men. Nor is it safe to pour a *secret* publickly into the ear of a *Prince*, at the suit of a less weighty occasion, than that of an unavoidable necessity: such *Intimacy* alarming not only the suspicion of Enemies, but the envy of Friends; since every one his eyes chance to glance upon during your discourse, imagines himself the subject treated about: The pride, a *Secretary* of State took in this (seeming, but not seldom destructive) Honour, did in my time so perplex the *Minion*, as he procured his ejection, without affording any other reason, than his *whispering with the King*, in his presence; taken then for an high presumption, however it may seem now the forms of Honour are altered.

37. When you *Speak* to any (especially of Quality) *look them full in the Face*; other Gestures bewraying want of Breeding, Confidence, or Honesty; *Dejected eyes* confessing, to most judgements, guilt, or folly.

38. *Impudence* is *no Vertue*, yet *able to beggar them*

them all; being for the moſt part in good plight, when the reſt ſtarve; and capable of carrying her followers up to the higheſt Preferments; found as uſeful in a Court, as Armour in a Camp. *Scotchmen* have ever made good the truth of this, who will go further with a ſhilling, than an *Engliſh man* can ordinarily paſs for a crown.

39. I do not find you guilty of *Covetouſneſs*, neither can I ſay more of it, but that *like a Candle, ill made, it ſmothers the ſplendour of an happy Fortune in its own greaſe.*

Yet *live* ſo *frugally*, if poſſible, as to reſerve ſomething, may inable you to grapple with any future contingency. And *provide in youth*, ſince *Fortune* hath this proper with other common Miſtreſſes, that ſhe *deſerts Age*, eſpecially *in the company of Want.*

But I need not uſe other perſwaſions unto you concerning *Thrift*, than what the ſtraitneſs of your own Fortune points you to; more contracted by others Covetouſneſs than my Prodigality.

40. 'Tis generally ſaid of the *Fox*, that he ſupplants the *Badger*, and neſtles himſelf in his Den; What may be pure nature in him, wiſe *Seneca* adviſeth for the higheſt Prudence, rather to purchaſe a *Houſe* ready *built*, than endure the tedious and troubleſom expectation and *Charge* attending the moſt diligent and able *Contriver*: who cannot find ſo much pleaſure in ſeeing his Idea's brought into form, as he ſhall meet diſcontent from the miſtakes of his Commands, Greatneſs of the Expence, and Idleneſs

of the Workmen; who the better to draw men into this Labyrinth, make things appear more cheap and eaſie, than any Undertaker of ſuch a task ever yet found; Knowing, if once ingaged the ſpurs of Shame and Neceſſity will drive him on; when the *Buyer* may take or leave, having a world to chuſe in, and the choiceſt conveniences at anothers Coſt, without participating of their diſgrace, for ſuch faults as curioſity may find, and he himſelf might have fallen into, had he been Operator: ſince nothing was ever yet ſo exactly contrived, but better information, or a new diſcovery of a more commodious *Faſhion* or *Situation* did arraign of Defect. Which altogether, proves it the beſt advice, rather to endure the abſurdities of others gratis, than to be at the coſt to commit greater your ſelf.

Keep no more *Servants* than you have full employment for; And if you find a good one, look upon him under no ſeverer aſpect than that of an *humble Friend*: the difference between ſuch an one and his Maſter reſiding rather in Fortune than nature. Therefore do not put the worſt conſtructions upon any thing he doth well, or miſtakes. Thus by proportioning your carriage to thoſe below, you will the better bring your mind to a ſafe and eaſie deportment to ſuch as Fate hath ſet above you. To conclude, ſervants are ever ſharers with their Maſters in Proſperity, and not ſeldom an occaſion of their deſtruction in bad times, by fomenting Jealouſie from without, or Treachery within.

41. Leave your *Bed* upon the firſt deſertion of

of Sleep: It being ill for the Eyes to read lying, and worſe for the Mind to be idle: ſince the Head, during that lazineſs, is commonly a cage for unclean thoughts.

42. It is no where wholſom, to *Eat* ſo long as you are able; eſpecially in *England*, where Meat, apteſt to inveagle the ſtomach to an over-repletion, comes laſt: But in caſe you tranſgreſs at one meal, let no perſwaſion tempt you to a ſecond repaſt, till by a fierce hunger you find your ſelf quite diſcharged of the former Exceſs. An exact obſervance of this hath under God, made me reach Theſe Times, and may, through his mercy, preſerve you for better. I have heard that the *Indians*, by the great moderation they uſe, are well able to digeſt raw fleſh; thought by ſome of more natural, if not eaſie concoction, than what is dry-roſted.

Drink not being *Hot*, unleſs Sack, *&c.* ſuch droughts reſiding rather in the Palat and Throat, than ſtomach; and ſo ſafer quenched by Gargles, Liquoriſh, a Cherry, or *Tobacco*; the uſe of which I neither perſwade nor prohibit, having taken it my ſelf ſince ſixteen, without any extraordinary marks of good or ill; but cannot approve noſing, or ſwallowing it down; as many to my knowledge have done, not long-liv'd.

43. Nothing really acceptable to the Guſto of Humanity, but Prudence may experiment without *Detection* or waking the clamorous Multitude, (gratified in all opportunities they have to accuſe others, though far more guilty

themſelves:) a Temper not poſſibly to be attained by the lovers of *Drink*, which *will not only render my reaſons, but your own uſeleſs.*

Let no incivility in the adminiſtration of an Officer provoke you to a contempt of the Authority he acts by: many being quick in memory, who, out of ſcorn to be catechized by a *Conſtable*, have ſumm'd up their days at the end of a Watchman's Bill: who being armed with Law, ought not in reaſon to be reſiſted: ſince, if you are no Malefactor, he attends for your preſervation. Nor is there a capacity of finding Honour by night about thoſe, that can lay claim themſelves to none by day-light; and through whom a ſmall drop of Silver will carry you more ſafe than a Sword. Therefore ſince this folly is the birthright of *Drink*, I would have only Dinners aſſigned for friendſhip; in hope that ſuch as begin then, though they out-ſit the Sun, will be delivered of the fury of the diſtemper before the *Watch* be ſet.

Were *Drink* capable of Counſel, I ſhould adviſe, if unfortunately overtaken by ſuch a *Diſtemper*, *not to remove from the place you received it in*; by which ſome part of the Shame may be avoided, and more of the Danger, attending the irregular motions of this giddy Spirit.

Drink, during the operation of the Diſtemper, will act all the Humours habitual in *Madmen*: Amongſt both which I have ſeen ſome very Zealous and devout, who, the fit once over, remained no leſs Profane. This proves, *Godlineſs capable of being feigned*, and may raiſe

raiſe an uſe of Circumſpection, in relation to ſuch as profeſs more than is ſuitable to humane frailty.

44. He that always regulates his *Diet* by the ſtrict Rules of Phyſick, makes his life no leſs uncomfortable to himſelf than unſociable unto others: The like doth he that uſeth palpable *Plots* in trivial things: who is made by this ſo ſuſpected in Commerce, as none will approach him unarmed with the like weapons: For though *Wiſdom may purchaſe reverence*, and attention; *Subtilty* (diſtinguiſhed from it only by a ſly Carriage) *raiſeth always ſuſpicion*: Wherefore, *the Cloſeneſs of the Heart, in matters of Conſequence, is beſt ſecured by an openneſs of things of leſs Moment.*

45. Experience hath found it no leſs Shame than Danger, in being the *Chief at a merry Aſſignation*: Since what is of evil ſavour falls moſt to their meſs at the upper end of the Table; but good to the meaneſt, who have the impudence to ſcramble up any things that ſuit to their advantage, as readily as they can have Oaths to decline what may redound to their loſs.

Beware what *Company* you keep, ſince *Example prevails more than Precept*, though by the Erudition dropping from theſe Tutors, we imbibe all the tinctures of Vertue and Vice: This renders it little leſs than impoſſible for Nature to hold out any long Siege againſt the batteries of Cuſtom and Opportunity.

46. Let your *Wit* rather ſerve you for a Buckler to defend your ſelf, by a handſom

Reply, than a Sword to wound others, though with never ſo facetious a *Reproach*, Remembring that a *Word cuts deeper than a ſharper weapon*, and the wound it makes is longer in curing: A blow proceeding but from a light motion of the Hand agitated by paſſion, whereas a diſgraceful Speech is the reſult of a low & baſe eſteem ſetled of the Party in your Heart.

47. *Much wiſdom* reſides in the *Proverbs* of all Nations, and therefore fit to be taken notice of: of which number this is common amongſt us, *Play with me, but hurt me not:* It being paſt peradventure, that more *Duels* ariſe from Jeſt than Earneſt, and between Friends, than Enemies: ſerious Injuries ſeldom happening but upon premeditation, which affords Reaſon ſome, though perhaps no full Audience; whereas this extemporary Spirit conjured up by ſhame and ſmart, harkens to nothing but the raſh advice of a preſent Revenge.

48. If an *Injury* be of ſo rank a Nature, as to extort (in point of Honour) an *unſavory word* (never ſutable to the mouth of a Gentleman) Sword-men adviſe, to ſecond it with a Blow by way of prevention, leſt he ſtriking firſt (which cannot but be expected) you ſhould be caſt behind hand. But this their Decree not being confirmed by *Act of Parliament*, I cannot find it ſuitable with Prudence or Religion, to make the Sword Umpire of your own Life and anothers, no leſs than the Law, upon no more ſerious an occaſion, than the vindication of your Fame, loſt or gain'd, by this bruitiſh valour, in the opinion o. non: that are either wiſe or pious

pious: It being out of the reach of queſtion, that a *Quarrel* is not to be ſcrued up to ſuch a height of Indiſcretion, without arraigning one or both parties of Madneſs: Eſpecially ſince formal *Duels* are but a late invention of the Devils, never heard of, in relation to private Injuries; among the Romans the *Gladiators* fighting for their Pleaſure, as the *Horatii* and *Curatii* for the ſafety of the People. It cannot be denied, but that Story lays before us many kill'd for private revenge, but never accompanied with ſo ridiculous a Formality, as the ſending of *Challenges*, which renders *the Dead a Greater Murderer, than he is that kills him*, as being without doubt the Author of his own Death. This makes me altogether believe, that ſuch wild Manhood had its original from *Romances*, in which the Giant is deſigned for death, and the Knight to marry the Lady, whoſe Honour he hath preſerved; not ſo gently treated by the *Engliſh Law*, where if his leggs or friends be not the better, he is hang'd, and his Eſtate confiſcated, to the perpetual detriment of his Family: beſides the ſting of Conſcience, and a natural fear, like that of *Cains*, attending Blood, by which the remainder of life is made tedious and miſerable to ſuch unfortunate men, who ſeem in all honeſt Company to ſmell too ſtrong of Blood, to be taken into any intimate Relation.

49. *Proſecute* not a *Coward* too far, leaſt you make him turn valiant to your diſadvantage: it being impoſſible for any ſtanding even in the worlds opinion, to gain glory

by the most he can have of those that lie under such a repute: besides, *Valour is rather the Product of Custom, than Nature*, and often found, where least expected; do not therefore waken it to your prejudice, as I have known many, that would still be *Insulting*, and could not see when they were well.

50. *Speak disgracefully* of none at *Ordinaries*, or publick *Meetings*: least some Kinsman, or Friend being there should force you to a base Recantation, or ingage you in a more indiscreet Quarrel: This renders all Free Discourse dangerous at Meetings of mixed Companies.

51. Carry no *Dogs* to *Court*, or any publick Place, to avoid contests with such as may spurn, or indeavour to take them up: The same may be said of *Boys* not wise or strong enough to decline or revenge affronts, whose Complaints do not seldom ingage their Masters; as I knew one of Quality killed in the defence of his *Page*: The like danger attends such as are so indiscreet, as to man *Whores* in the street, in which every one pretends to have an interest for his money, and therefore unwilling to see them monopolized, especially when they have got a pot in their pate.

52. *Reveal* not the pranks of anothers *Love*, how serious or ridiculous soever you find them, it being unlikely the mirth should compense the danger: By this you shall purchase your self a *retentive faculty*, and sell your Friend a stronger confidence of your *secrecy*; hanging on him the lock of a perpetual Obligation,

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of which you may ever be keeper of the Key, either out of Love or Fear: yet many other Faults are not more dangerous to commit, than know without detecting.

53. Be not *Trumpet* of your own *Charity*, or *Vices*; for by the one you disoblige the Receiver, as well as loose your Reward; and by the other, you alarm the Censures of men: most being condemned through the evidence they give against themselves by their *words* and *gestures*.

54. If it be *Levity* and *Ostentation*, to boast when you do well, in what Class of Folly must they be ranked, that *brag of the favours of Women?* rendring themselves, by this, no less frail than they: it being *more shame for a Man to be leakie and incontinent at the Mouth, than for a woman to scatter her favours.*

55. To make *love* to *married women* doth not only multiply the Sin, but the danger: neither can you, if question'd by her husband, use, with hope of victory, any sharper Weapon, than *Repentance, sheathed in a modest excuse.*

56. Fly, with *Joseph*, the *Embraces of great Ladies*; lest you loose your liberty, and see your leggs rot in the stocks of the *Physitian:* they being often Unwholesom, ever so unreasonable, as to exact a continency from you, themselves intend not to observe: perverting so far the curse of God, as to make *your desires subject to theirs.*

57. Usher

57. Uſher not *women* to *Masks*, *Plays*, or other ſuch *publick Spectacles* to which you have not an eaſie acceſs for Money or Favour: ſuch places being apter to create injury, than afford an handſom opportunity for revenge: Beſides, if thoſe you carry be old and deformed, they diſparage you; if young and handſome, themſelves.

II. Love and Marriage.

To the Reader, concerning the following Diſcourſe of *Love*, and *Marriage*.

His had not appeared, being a reſult of more juvenile years, but that I feared, if let alone, it might hereafter creep abroad from under a falſe impreſſion, and one more ſcandalous to that Sex, than becomes my Complexion or Obligation. Therefore, to vindicate me from the no leſs inhumane than unnatural imputation of a Women-hater, *I do here proteſt, with a reference to their Charity and my own moſt ſerious Affections, That if the Party adviſed had been a* Daughter, *my Ink muſt have caſt blacker, than the rich grain of their Angelical Beauty is capable to be aſſerted by. It being obſervable That ſuch Idolaters as made She Deities the object of their worſhip, were, by all, celebrated for moſt Learning, Wiſdom and Civility. Nevertheleſs, though* Women be Cordials when deſire is paſt, and Juleps while the heat continues, *yet ſince it is ordinary, for Dablers in Beauty to miſtake* Poyſon for Phyſick *(ſuch feminine Boxes not always*

always bearing Drugs suitable to their Inscriptions, but being often painted with more perfections, than they carry in them) I hope this Discourse may the better be excused, having the Example of Solomon *to justifie the harshness of my Expressions, no less than his Follies to warrant the necessity of the Caution; lest my Son should mire himself and his hopes in the pursuit of such* foolish flames, *as have tempted the strongest, wisest and most religious out of the ways of Peace. I shall forestall the Reader with no farther Complement, than* That he would forbear to condemn or praise beyond Reason; *lest he should appear too severe towards my Levity, or Indulgent to his own Morosity in relation to Beauty.*

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1. Love

1. LOVE, like a Burning-glaſs, contracts the dilated lines of Luſt, and fixeth them upon one object; beſtowed by our fellow Creatures, (the exacter Obſervers of the Dictates of Nature) promiſcuouſly, without partiality in affection, on every diſtinct Female of their reſpective *ſpecies*; whereas Man, being reſtrained to a particular Choice, by the ſeverity of Law, Cuſtom and his own more ſtupendious Folly; out of a jealouſie to be robb'd of a preſent deſire, is ſo hurried away with the firſt apparition of an imaginary Beauty, (ſuppoſed by his Fancy, groſly abuſed by her ſervants the Senſes, corrupted and ſuborn'd through an implacable appetite, which Nature for her own end of continuance, ſtirs up in all to this fleſhly Conjunction) that no Reaſon can for the preſent be audible, but what pleadeth in favour of this ſoft paſſion; which makes a deeper or leſſer impreſs, proportionable to the temper of the Heart it meets with; cauſing Madneſs in ſome, Folly in all: placing, like ſtupid Idolaters, Divinity in a ſilly Creature, ſet by the inſtitutes of nature in a far inferiour Claſs of perfection to that which makes it his buſineſs to worſhip and adore it; Imagining as falſe felicities in the Fruition, as they apprehend miſeries in the Loſs: when all they deſire is but the fruit of that Tree, the kernel

of

of that apple, which first destroyed us all, fair to sight, but of fatal and dreadful consequence to the taster; rendring Him subject to slavery, that was born free: and suffering Her to command, who ought in righter reason to serve and obey.

2. To cure *Youth* wholly of this Desire, were as uneasie a task, as to devest it of Humanity: Therefore I expect you should be tossed in this Storm, but would not have you shipwrack't, by contracting your self to the Ocean, unless, with the Duke of *Venice*, you might yearly repeat the Ceremony to as great an advantage.

3. For if ever *Marriages* were on all sides happy (which is no Schism to doubt of) experience never found them among such, as had no other nealing, but what they received from the flames of *Love*; which cannot hold without Jealousie, nor break without Repentance, and must needs render their sleep unquiet, that have one of these *Cadds* or Familiars still knocking over their pillow.

4. Those *Vertues*, *Graces* and *reciprocal Desires*, bewitched Affection expected to meet and enjoy, Fruition and Experience will find absent, and nothing left but a painted Box, which Children and Time will empty of Delight; leaving Diseases behind, or, at best, incurable Antiquity.

5. Therefore I charge you, (as you will answer the contrary another day to your own Discretion, and upon the penalty of a bitter, (though vain Repentance) not to truck for, or entertain commerce upon the credit of *Marriage*,

riage, with a ſolitary, that is, an *unendowed Beauty* (which if really intended, you queſtion your own Judgement; if otherwiſe, the Honeſty of you both:) From whence I have known ſuch ſad conſequents to reſult, as have made ſome (wiſe enough to preſage the miſchief of the event) ſo far concede to the tears and miſery of the Party, as to caſt themſelves, out of meer pity and conſcience, into the precipice of *Marriage*; burying their own fortunes and future felicity, only to ſatisfie the affection of another.

6. Marriage, like a Trap ſet for flies, may poſſibly be ointed, at the Entrance, with a little Voluptuouſneſs, under which is contained a draught of deadly wine, more pricking and tedious than the Paſſions it pretends to cure, leaving the Patient in little quieter condition in the morning, than him that hath over-night kill'd a man to gratifie his revenge.

Eve, by ſtumbling at the Serpents ſolicitations, caſt her Husband out of Paradiſe: nor are her Daughters ſurer of foot, being foundered by the heat of Luſt and Pride: and unable to bear the weight of ſo much of our Reputation, as Religion and Cuſtom hath loaded them withall; that an unbalaſted Behaviour, without other Leakage, is ſufficient to caſt away an Husbands Eſteem: Neither doth the penalty of a *Light Report* laid on the *Mother*, conclude there, but diffuſeth it ſelf, like a Leproſie, over *Poſterity*, being uncapable of any other cure, than length of time can deduce out of forgetfulneſs.

7. It

7. It were ſomething yet, if *Marriage* could *anſwer* the *expectation* of all ſhe boaſts the cure of, in the large Bill, our Mountebank-Teachers proclaim in every ſtreet; which, upon trial, ſhe often comes ſo far ſhort of, as to ſatisfie none, but rather aggravates the ſins of Solitude, making ſimple *Fornication* to ſprout into *Adultery*. And if it happen that your *Wife* be *impotent* or *infected* (as not a few are) with one or more of thoſe loathſom *Diſeaſes* incident to weak feminine nature, which render her unſociable, you are poſted off, both by Lawyers and Divines, to the ſame patience, I do here more opportunely propoſe, before you are fallen under ſo miſchievous and expenſive a Conjunction.

8. If none of my perſwaſions, nor others woful Experience, daily met with in the world, can deter you from yoking your ſelf to anothers deſires, make not *a celebrated beauty* the object of your choice; unleſs you are ambitious of rendering your houſe as populous as a Confectioners ſhop; to which the gaudy Waſps, no leſs than the liquoriſh Flies, make it their buſineſs to reſort, in hope of obtaing a lick at your Honey-pot: which though bound up with the ſtrongeſt obligations or reſolutions, and ſealed by never ſo many proteſtations, yet feminine veſſels are obnoxious to ſo many frailties, as they can hardly bear without breaking, the Pride and Content they naturally take in ſeeing themſelves adored; Neither can you, according to the *looſe cuſtom of England*, decently reſtrain Her from this Concourſe, without making

making demonſtration of Jealouſie toward her (by which you confeſs your ſelf a *Cuckhold* in your own imagination already) or Incivility to ſuch as come to viſit you; though it may be ſtrongly preſumed, Your ſake hath the leaſt ſhare in this Ceremony; however tied in manners to attend with patience, till his *Worſhip*, perhaps his *Lordſhip*, had pumped his wit dry, having no more Complements left but to take leave; Thus, with his Invention rebated, but not his Luſt, he returns home; where the old preſerver of baudry, his Kinſwoman, perceiving, by his dejected countenance, that he came ſhort of his deſires, and wanting a new gown, imbarks her ſelf for the employment; and to put the honeſter face upon ſo ugly a deſign, ſhe contracts a ſtraight alliance with your (yet poſſibly unconquered) Bedfellow, and under pretence of a Goſſipping, or perhaps a voyage to ſome Religious Exerciſe, hurries her away in his *Honour's* Coach to a Meeting houſe, where though ſhe be taken by Storm, is fairly ſent home with Bag and Baggage, being only plundered of what you are not likely to miſs; And finding it unſafe to complain, returns again upon her parole, or ſo often as her new Governour pleaſeth to ſummon her, ſheltering the Fault under Cuſtom, your unavoidable Fate, or perhaps Providence (which for their excuſe, ſome are wicked enough to plead) till her Forehead be as much hardened with Impudence, as yours is by Reproaches, *&c.* And yet he is the happier owner, who hath a Wife wiſe enough to conceal the reall

Horns of her husband, than ſhe, that being innocent, doth by her light carriage make the baſe ſymptoms appear in the world's opinion: Oh remember this, when you are about to forget the Pleaſure and Safety, only to be found in a *Single Life.*

If you conſider *beauty* alone, quite diſcharged from ſuch *Debentur*'s, as ſhe owes to the Arts of *Tire-women*, *Taylers*, *Shoomakers* and perhaps *Painters*, you will find the Remains ſo inconſiderable, as ſcarce to deſerve your preſent thoughts, much leſs to be made the price of your perpetual Slavery: Be not then led, like a Child, by theſe gaudy *Butter-flies*, amongſt the bryers and nettles of the world; ſince obtained, a little time and uſe will wear off their fading colours, leaving nothing in your poſſeſſion but a bald, drowſie *Moth*; which if good, will by accident, if bad, make it her buſineſs to diſcontent you.

9. The *Engliſh Laws* are compoſed ſo far in favour of *Wives*, as if our Anceſtors had ſent Women to their Parliaments, whilſt their Heads were a wool-gathering at home, allowing no *abuſing of Husbands* capital, nor *Marriage* diſſolvable, but in caſe of *Adultery*, not ſubject to proof but under the atteſts of two Witneſſes at one and the ſame time: Nor is non-co-habitation a ſufficient diſcharge from His keeping all ſuch Children, as her Luſt ſhall produce during his aboad between the four *Engliſh Seas*; ſo as if his Wife be a *Strumpet*, he muſt baniſh himſelf, or deal his bread and cloaths to the ſpurious Iſſue of a Stanger;

a Stranger; a thraldom, no wiſe man would ſell himſelf to for the faireſt inheritance, much leſs for trouble, vexation and want during Life. Whence it may be ſtrongly preſumed, that the hand of *Policy* (which firſt or laſt brings all things, expedient to humane ſociety, under the imperious notion of Religion) hung this padlock upon the liberty of men, and after Cuſtom had loſt the Key, the *Church*, according to her wonted Subtilty, took upon her to protect it; delivering in her Charge to the people, that *ſingle wedlock* was by divine right, making the contrary, in diverſe places, Death; and where ſhe proceeded with the greateſt moderation, Excommunication: condemning thereby (beſides four fifth parts of the world) the holy *Patriarchs*, who among their ſo frequent Dialogues held with their Maker, were never reproved for multiplying *Wives* and *Concubines*; reckoned to *David* as a Bleſſing, and to *Solomon* for a mark of Magnificence. Nevertheleſs the wily *Prieſts* are ſo tender of of their own Conveniences, as to forbid all *Marriage* to themſelves, upon as heavy a puniſhment, as they do *Polygamy* unto others: Now if nothing capable of the name of Felicity was ever, by men or Angels, found to be denied to the *Prieſthood*, may not Marriage be ſtrongly ſuſpected to be by them thought out of that liſt? though to render it more glib to the wider ſwallow of the long abuſed *Laity*, they have gilt it with the glorious Epithite of a *Sacrament*, which yet they loath to clog their own ſtomachs withall. However the patient ſubmiſſion to the Inſtitution of

Marriage is the more to be wondred at, since *Man* and *Woman* not being allowed of equal strength, are so far prevailed upon by *Policy*, as quietly to submit themselves to one *Yoke*.

10. Yet this may be said for it, that as men suffer themselves to be bound, when they are cut of the *stone* or any sharp Disease, being conscious of their want of Resolution or Constancy: From whence the wise Operator takes so great an advantage, as not to let them loose, till they have obtained their Cure: So the grave *Law* settles by this way our wild and wandering Affections, converting them to the publick benefit, perswading such as are willing to hear her, That *A Wife is a Medicine both for strong and weak*, quenching the fire of the one, no less than restoring the heat of the other: Being the true and shorter part of the *Tally*, without which man can render no just Account of his Life; thought too smooth and oily to climb Heaven, unless mingled with the vinegar of *Marriage*.

11. Nevertheless there is not in private persons any other necessary constraint to this *Conjunction*, but what results from understandings so mused for the present, that they cannot discern, that *Marriage* is a Clog fastened to the neck of Liberty, by the jugling hand of *Policy*, that provides only for the general necessities of all in gross, not the particular conveniences of single persons; who, by this, give stronger Security to the Common-wealth, than suits with Prudence or Liberty. And to such as ask, How should the world subsist, did all observe

ſerve the like caution? It may be anſwered, As well as without Unthrifts, who by ſpending their eſtates profuſely, make way for wiſer men to be the more happy, and as it is impoſſible to find a dearth of the latter, though not compelled thereunto by any other Law, than the inſtigation of their own Folly; ſo doubt not but there will be enough found of the former, to ſtock the world, without putting ſo chargable an experiment on your own conveniency.

12. We brook nothing well, *Reſtraint* ties us to: Therefore ſome take more content in ſharing a *Miſtreſs* with others, than they can find in the ſole Fruition of a *Wife*: The reaſon is, *Strangers are taken for Dainties, Wives as Phyſick. Riches* and *Honour* were in the ſame predicament, but that they ſtill leave ſomething behind to be deſired, *Luſt* nothing, beyond the repetition of the ſame again, which after a few enjoyments grows tedious. Other Courſes weary us with *Change*, this with Continuance.

13. Ask your ſelf, what deſire you ever attained, that a long and often repeated *Fruition* did not render tedious, if not loathſom, though the thing wiſhed for remained in the perfection it was before enjoyment? And can your Reaſon promiſe you, to continue the ſame unto *Beauty*; ſo tranſitory, as it is in a manner loſt, before you can truly conſider, whether it belongs to Nature, or the Dreſs? therefore when diſcontented with your preſent condition, tumble towards any

Change, rather than into that bottomleſs Pit, out of which no repentance can bayl you.

14. After that *Age*, *Wearineſs*, *Wiſdom* or *Buſineſs* hath diſpoſſeſſed you of this dumb and deaf *amorous Spirit*, and concluded all deſires to *uxorious Vanities*, it is poſſible your *Wives* appetite may increaſe, and that Diſeaſe of *Luſt*, which your Youth cured before ſhe had leaſure to diſcover it, may then unſeaſonably interrupt your ſleep; calling for That, there ſhall be nothing in her, but importunity, to provoke you to; nor in you, but the deſire of quiet, and to conjure down the fierce Devil of *Jeaouſie*, which hants the houſes of Married folks, rendering them no leſs unhappy, diſmal and clamorous, than the Temple of *Moloch*, where ſuch Children and Servants, as you moſt delight in, ſhall paſs through the Fire of daily Contention.

15. Were it poſſible to aſſign to your Choice *the Vertues of your Mother* (which I confeſs are inferiour to none) and fancy a *Son*, with as rich Parts as imagination is able to endow a creature withall; yet a *Daughter* may come, that for want of good Behaviour, or care in Marriage, ſhall infuſe ſo much gall into your cup, as will be able to imbitter all the pleaſure taken in the reſt: Or if you ſhould eſcape this in regard of one, the leaſt deformity happening to any of the others, will cauſe more grief, than all the towardlineſs of the moſt perfect can out-talk.

16. Our Beldame *Eve*, to ſave her longing, ſold us all for an Apple; and ſtill as we fall into the

the ſame deſires, *apprehending felicities in things we never tryed*, we are carryed away by her peeviſh *Daughters*, the true *Syrens* wiſe *Ulyſſes* ſtopt his ears againſt, who under pretence of Pleaſure and Love, lead us into Dens and obſcure Holes of the Rocks, where we conſume our pretious Time and bury our Parts, (which, might enable us to deſpiſe or honour this world as beſt ſuited our complexions) feeding, all our lives, upon the dry bones of Want and Affliction, and like *Actæon*, torn by our Families; Nothing being more certain, than that a Married man changeth the ſhape of natural Freedom, and inrols himſelf among ſuch as as rendred Beaſts of burden under Reaſon of State; whereas thoſe unclog'd with this Yoke, if they like not the ſervice and diſcipline of their own, may the eaſier exchange it for that of any other Commonwealth.

17. Though nothing can wholly diſengage *Marriage* from ſuch *Inconveniencies*, as may obſtruct felicity, yet they are beſt palliated under a *great Eſtate*; all other Arguments for it receiving commonly confutation from Time and Experience, or are evaporated by Fruition: *Birth* impoſing a neceſſity of Charge, as *Beauty* doth of Jealouſie, if not of a bad report; Innocency being often found too weak to guard it ſelf from the poyſon of tongues.

18. The true extent of *her Eſtate* therefore is firſt to be ſurveyed, before you entail your ſelf upon the Owner: And, in this, common Fame is not to be truſted, which for the moſt part dilates a *Portion* or *Joynture* beyond its

natural bounds, proving alſo not ſeldom litigious and *that* found *given by Will*, queſtionable: by which Husbands are tied to a black Box, more miſerable than that of *Pandora*: there being in the Law hope of nothing but trouble and injuſtice. Neither do *Widows* ſeldom put their *Eſtates* out of their own reach, the better to cheat their Husbands, perverting ſo far the courſe of nature, as to make him thraſh for a Penſion, who ought to command all. This requires *Love* to be uſhered into this undiſolvable Nooſe, by Diſcretion, ſince it hath rarely fallen within the compaſs of Example, that both parties (if wiſe) ſhould be cordially pleaſed with their bargain: Therefore the Yoke of Marriage had need be lined with the richeſt ſtuff, and ſofteſt outward conveniencies, elſe it will gall your Neck and Heart, ſo, as you ſhall take little comfort in the Virtue, Beauty, Birth, &c. of her to whom you are coupled.

19. As the fertility of the enſuing year is gueſſed at, by the height of the river Nilus, ſo by the *greatneſs of a Wives Portion* may much of the future conjugal Happineſs be calculated; For, to ſay truth, *a poor Marriage*, like a Fathers Theft or Treaſon, entails ſhame and miſery upon Poſterity, who receive little warmth from the Virtue, much leſs from the Beauty of their Mother.

The beſt of husbands are Servants, but he that takes a *Wife* wanting *Money*, is a ſlave to his affection, doing the baſeſt of Drudgeries

without

without wages. Experience cries in the Streets, that he who takes his *Maid* into the Marriage-bed, finds her no leſs imperious a Miſtreſs, than he that is coupled in the higheſt Link. For ſuch as bring nothing, eſteem themſelves ſlighted, if they command not all; whereas better Educations are apter to confeſs an Obligation, than thoſe baſely born.

20. Yet take one who thinks her ſelf rather *beneath* than above you in *Birth*: ſince *honourable Perſons*, as is reported of *Eagles Feathers*, in *a Bed*, conſume all not of the ſame plume: *Riches* were in a like predicament, in relation to *Pride*, but eaſier paſſed by, becauſe beſt able to bear the charges of her own Folly; whereas *Lean Honour* like *Pharo's Kine*, devours the *Gentry* with whom they match, by multiplying the quantity of their Expenſes,

21. I confeſs *Vaſt Eſtates* are not ſo ſenſible of the inconveniences of *poor Marriages*: as having, beſides greater Diverſions, the ſtaff of Power to keep the lean Wolf from the dore: *Want* being no leſs the original of moſt Sins, than the Mother of all Plagues: ſo as the depth of *Poverty* calling upon the bottomleſs pit of *Deſpair*, tempts the ill-bred *Son*, for want of better education (to change a life, he thinks cannot be made more wretched) to marry the Chamber-maid: by which the no leſs unadviſed *Daughter* learns to run away with the *Groom*: Do not the careful looks of all Fathers give evidence to the truth of that Saying, *Children are uncertain Comforts, but certain troubles.*

22. There-

22. Therefore (*dear Son*) if you find your ſelf ſmitten with this poiſoned Dart, imitate His prudence, who choſe rather to caſt himſelf into the arms of the Sea, and Travel, than to let his Hopes and Parts wither in thoſe of a poor whining *Dido:* who is no more able to give you Caution, for the continuance of her own Affection, than you are of yours, or of her Beauty.

23. I have heard a *well-built-woman* compared, in her motion, to a Ship under Sail; yet I would adviſe no wiſe man to be her owner, if her Fraught be nothing but what ſhe carries between Wind and Water.

A neat wench, like a fair Picture, may adorn a Room for a general Commerce, or like a painted Inn-poſt, may tempt you as a Stranger, to while away ſome ſcorching hours: but to hang her in your Heart, and turn Hoſt to a bare Holly-buſh, is ſo high a Blaſphemy againſt Diſcretion, that it would not only exceed repentance, but pity and forgiveneſs, eſpecially in relation to you, who have had theſe Rocks marked out on all ſides, by the Advice or Splinters of an indulgent Father.

24. But if once you render your ſelf a pupil to whining *Love*, he will read you ſuch contrary Politicks, as ſhall perſwade you to make a League with Miſery, and embrace Beggery for a Friend: and after this you are capable of no higher honour, than to be regiſtred in one of his Martyrological Ballads, and ſung by Dairy-maids to a pitiful Tune.

25. To

25. To conclude, if you will needs be a Familist and Marry, Muster not the *want of Issue* among your greatest affliction, as those do, that Cry *Give me Children or else my Name dies*; the poorest way of immortalizing that can be, and and as natural to a Cobler as a Prince, and not seldom out-reached by a Grave-stone: This proves them no fools that made their own choice, by *Adoption*, out of the mass of humanity, not confining themselves to such as the doubtful chance of *Marriage* obliged them to: since wives do worse than miscarry, that go their full time of a Fool with a Bossive birth; yet less uglineſs resides in the greatest personal Deformity, than in an ordinary Mulct of the mind: nor can there be a greater dissemblance between one wise man and another, though strangers in blood, than daily falls out betwixt them and their own Issue: so as it is rarely observed, that a prudent Father begets a like Son: in which, Nature proclaims, Things of moment not made for *Stallions*, and to bury their rich Talents in the tedious commerce and loathsom sheets of a silly Woman. And if we consult right Reason, not Opinion, more of our Blood runs in a Brother, than a Child; the Surer-side being always a stranger to the Family: The truth is, they are really no more ours, than the curls of our hair, or parings of your nails, carrying often such Thoughts towards us, as we should detest any for, but them: Made ours rather by Use than Nature, as appears in the rest of Gods Creatures, who look no longer after their Young,

than

than whilſt they are unable to ſhift for themſelves; This alſo ſpeaks an immoderate Sorrow for their Loſs, as impertinent, as the like deſire to procure them: none being truly capable of Felicity, that ſituate it out of the extent of their own reach, or are over-paſſionately affected with other foreign miſery, than what doth purely belong to themſelves.

26. But if this ſavours too much of the *Stoick*, You may qualifie it as you pleaſe: For I doubt not, but the zeal your *Youth* doth yet retain towards the Creed and Practice of others (poſſibly not ſo well taught) may at preſent make much of *This* look like *Blaſphemy*: But when ſo many Winters have ſnowed on your Head, as on your Fathers, you will think it *Canonical, and fit to be read to Poſterity.*

To

To The WOMEN READERS,

Concerning the fore-going Diſcourſe Of Love and Marriage.

THough the multitude, that croud of Errour and Miſtakes, like corn, hang their Ears, and ſituate their Judgements not according to the conſtant aſpect of Reaſon, But the mutable and ſenſleſs Inſpirations of Fools and Criticks, commonly their Nurſes, and according to whoſe Dialect this childiſh Monſter is taught to prate; yet I did not apprehend it ſo deaf to its own Intereſt, and the pitiful voice of woful Experience, as to imagine any thing, looking like a Mote in the felicity of a Married man, which becomes not a Beam in the more tender eye of a Wife; To whom the cruelty of a tyrannical cuſtom hath allotted the heavieſt, and moſt uneaſie end of the chain: Thought by me ſufficiently intimated in that Epiſtle, ſet on purpoſe (in the former Editions) before this Section of Love and Marriage, to ſtay the Reader from any miſpriſion, the drowſieſt Ignorance could lead him into, for want of that Counterpain relating to Women; looked upon, at that time, as impertinent to inſert, the Party I then laboured for to arm, being a Son.

Therefore I hope I ſhall not need to implore all the Candor attending your other Excellencies, whoſe ſmalleſt skirt will be ſufficient to cover me from

from the ſtrife of tongues, voicing this a new-caught-up Opinion, or, that I deteſt more, a baſe Recantation; *by which I ſhould foully betray a heart no leſs ready to be your Foot-ſtool in Age, than it was one of your triumphant Chariots during Youth: This being meerly intended to ſtay the looſe Rable from dropping into any further prejudice of my Innocency, by an equal balancing the Accounts of* Marriage; *ſeldom reaching the content of both, eſpecially where the* Groom *is wholly led in by* Love, *and the* Bride *hath nothing more permanent to accompany her, than* Beauty *and* Youth.

For if the Maſter *of the* Cabin *finds a* Bedfellow *with her Concomitance, not only troubleſom to ſtow, but an impediment inconſiſtent with his own ſafety, during ſuch a rough ſtorm of inteſtine* War, *as my Quill was toſſed in when firſt laden with this* Advice, *His* Mate *cannot in ordinary diſcretion, be imagined to lie eaſie, who, beſides* her *own particular grievances, hath his dangers alſo to affright her; And by burying the Regency of a* Miſtreſs *in the vaſſellage of* Marriage, *doth not only go leſs in the former eſteem her* Husband *had had of her, whilſt he lay under the ſtrongeſt incantation of an unſatisfied deſire, but ventures the forfeiture of that ancient Charter, by which* Free Beauty *is allowed a paſport through all Nations where Civility or Honour Commands: Rendering her ſelf in all diſtempered times (where ſingle ſhe might remain in a harmleſs Neutrality) obnoxious to an ill treatment from the contrary Party to that her owners fortune, folly or friendſhip hath contracted him to.*

Thus

Thus, like the Angels *ſent to the reſcue of* Lot, Women *do not only run the hazard of their own Contamination by* Marriage, *to draw men out of the ſins no leſs than puniſhments impending the barren and unnatural delights of ſolitude, but alter their ſhapes, and embaſe their celeſtial Beauties, when by diſcharging their* Huſbands of the venom *of* Love, *they ſwell themſelves into the bulk and dangers of* Childbearing: looſing *their own* Name *and their* Families; *to perpetuate that of a meer* Stranger: *And beſides all this, they, in their higheſt ruff, can be looked upon but as* the beſt of Servants: *Having nothing* theirs *in a more proper ſence, than a* Child *hath, whoſe father allows him to call any thing* His, *though without leave he may not diſpoſe of the ſmalleſt part. Nor, in caſe of melancholly* Diſcontent, (*not ſeldom hanting every corner of their Family, which* Women *are tyed to cure, or keep company with*) *can they find ſuch ready and ſafe Diverſions, as the ways of* Men *are in all places ſtrewed withall: who being freer from* Fear or Shame (*Shakles which mens own Law and Cuſtom, not Nature or Juſtice hath caſt in the way of the Wives felicity*) *they meet ſuch content abroad, as is withheld from* your ſex *under the Key of Conſcience, or covered from your deſires by the veil of* Modeſty, *or not impoſſibly laid beyond reach, for want of ſo eaſie ſteps of opportunity.*

Yet beſides theſe viſible diſadvantages, Married Women *lye under a number that deſerve the name of corroding* Plagues, *which the ſeverity of their Modeſty, by cuſtom made*

made natural, forbids them to reveal; and against whose tyrannical Jurisdiction they may be thought to rebell, that should endeavour to muster them up: For in a small time the Patient *obtains his cure, and the* Physician *becomes affected with the same desires, fruition hath discharged the* Husband *of; who doth consider his own Remedy as a Drug easily matched, if not exceeded, by such as may be found under every hedge: laying it aside, like a perfum'd glove, with whose sweetness his senses are so sated by use, as he can apprehend little delight in it; Though Strangers, whose eyes are not bleared by* Fruition, *look upon her as the* Sun, *which retains the same splendor she had at first, not being* Eclipsed *so much from any* Defect *of Nature in it self, as by the Clouds arising in the* Husbands *Fancy, from a daily commerce; Through which, though* his love *be diminished, the* Wives *is encreased, if not from affection, yet by an Imposition of Necessity;* men *being to be numbred among such* Diseases, *as are sometime continued with a less train of inconveniencies, than parted withall. Whereas if that* Sweet Sex *remained still in the state of Innocency, not contemplating any other perfections but their own, they might be adored for* beauty *during Youth, and reverenced. for* virtue *in* Age; *And by putting this restraint upon the felicity of* men, *bring them to an honourable Composition, as the* Sabine-Ladies *did the* Romans.

To

To conclude, If Men, *the most absolute masters of their Choice and Employment, find occasion of* discontent, *under this* undissolvable conjunction, *who can value* Womens *disadvantage, whose Actions, no less than their intrinsecal Desires must be subject to, and wait the leisure of their* Husbands?

ADVICE TO A SON.

III. Travel.

SOme, to ſtarch a more ſerious face upon wanton, impertinent, and dear-bought Vanities, cry up *Travel*, as *the beſt accompliſher of Youth and Gentry*, though detected by Experience in the generallity, for *the greateſt debaucher:* adding affectation to Folly, and Atheiſme to the curioſity of many not well principled by Education: Such Wanderers imitating thoſe Factors of *Solomon*, that together with Gold, returned Apes and Peacocks.

They and only they *advantage* themſelves by *Travel*, who, well ſtraught with the Experience of what their own Country affords, carry over with them large and thriving Talents, as thoſe Servants did, commended by our Saviour: For he that hath nothing to venture but poor, deſpicable and ſolitary Parts, may be ſo far from Improvement, as he hazards quite to looſe and bury them in the external *Levity* of *France*, *Pride* of *Spain*, and *Treachery of Italy*: Becauſe not being able to take acquaintance abroad of more Prudence, than he meets with in the Streets and other publick places, the Activity of his Leggs and Arms may poſſibly be augmented,

mented, and he by tedious Complements, become more acceptable in the eyes of silly Women, but useless, if not pernicious, to the Government of his own Country, in creating doubts and dislikes by way of a partial Comparison.

2. Yet since it *advanceth Opinion in the world*, without which Desert is useful to none but it self (Scholars and Travellers being cryed up for the highest Graduates in the most universal judgements) I am not much unwilling to give way to peregrine motion for a time; Provided it be in *Company of an Embassadour, or Person of Quality*; by whose power the Danger may be rebated, no less than your charge of Diet defrayed; inconsiderable in such a Retinue, as Persons of their Magnitude are forced to entertain.

3. Or if your Genius (tempted by profit) incline to the life of a *Merchant*, you have the Law of Nations, and Articles of a reciprocal Amity to protect you from other inconveniencies, than such as Indiscretion draws upon rash and unadvised Strangers.

And thus man'd out, Your Experience may receive Lading at the first hand, when others, failing of the like Advantages, must take up that little they make, at the common Beam; yet pay more Custom, and run greater hazards than the whole Return, when cast up, is able to compense.

4. Or in case this Nation should again break out into *Partialities*, it may not be ill prudence, to go where you may have the prospect of the *War* with safety, who ever prevail: And for

the Place, I say *France*, if you have a purse: else some Town in the *Netherlands* or *Flanders*, that is wholsom and safe; where *French* may be attained with little more difficulty than at *Paris*, neither are the Humors of the People so very remote from your own.

Now if it be your fortune, on any such like Accounts, to leave your Native Country. Take these *Directions* from a *Father*, wearied (and therefore possibly made wiser) by *Experience*.

5. Let not the Irreligion of any Place breed in you a neglect of *Divine Duties*: remembring, God heard the prayers of *Daniel* in *Babylon*, with the same Attention he gave to *David's* in *Sion*.

6. Shun all *Disputes*, but *concerning Religion* especially; because that which commands in chief, though false and erroneous, will, like a Cock on's own dunghill, line her Arguments with force, and drive the Stranger out of the Pit with insignificant clamours. All Opinions, not made natural by complexion, or imperious Education, being equally ridiculous to those of contrary Tenets.

But where you find such Discourse unavoidably obtruded, mould your Arguments rather into *Queries*, than dogmatical Assertions; professing it *more the business of Travellers, to Learn than Teach*: This, besides the removal of Jealousies, will proclaim you Civil, and not bury the hope of a future Complyance: Muzling the mouths of the rigid Zelots, (who think none worthy of Life, found out of the Train of their own Opinions) no less than

engaging the more Moderate, rather to pity you, as one miſ-led, than accuſe you for Willful and contumacious: Obſerving herein *the prudence of our Saviour*, who prohibits the caſting of Pearls before ſuch, as are more likely to employ them to your Damage, than their own Edification: And therefore Silence ought not in reaſon to be reckon'd for a deſertion of Truth, where it cannot be maintained, but to the prejudice of what the Imperative Power hath declared ſo to be.

A *Sceptick humour*, as it is moſt ſutable to any *man* out of Power, ſo eſpecially if he Travels; leſs offence being taken at *Doubters*, than ſuch as boldly undertake to Determine: There not always remaining a neceſſity, either in Religion or diſcretion, to give a *poſitive Anſwer*; as appears by *Chriſt*, who *did not ſeldom oppoſe one ambiguous Queſtion againſt another no leſs dangerous to reſolve*: Therefore you may be as well a Murderer as a Martyr, if you run unadviſedly into Ruine.

7. Keep your *Zeal* chain'd for a Guard to your conſcience, not letting it fly upon ſuch things as Cuſtom hath not made it familiar withal, (Remembring, that the *Saduces*, who denyed Angels and Spirits, are not regiſtred for ſuch implacable enemies to our Saviour, as the *Phariſees*, who confeſſed both:) the fury of which Paſſion hath tranſported ſome ſo far, as to ſtrike the *Euchariſt* out of the Prieſts hands, that carryed it, Chooſing, like giddy *Phaetons*, to burn, rather than not manifeſt themſelves (unſeaſonably) the Children of God.

8. Do not imitate Their follies, who conceit themselves bound in honour to *assert* all *Customs* used in the Places they come from; which, besides contraction of Quarrels, brands such Sophisters with the imputation of a partial Incivility: *Custom* being of that insinuating nature, as it can convert into the shape of comelineſs, Diet, Apparel, Gestures, Opinions and Sins, that, to a Stranger, may appear most distastful, ugly, uncouth and unnatural: This renders a Defence of the Errors of your own Country as undecent, as the too lowd proclaiming of them is shameful and unworthy.

As it is neither mannerly nor safe to *discommend* any thing used Abroad, so likewise is it disadvantagious; for by *Commendation* you shall the better screw out the true Opinion themselves have of it, which upon your *Dislike* will be concealed, or heightned, out of shame, or ostentation.

9. Fall not into *Comparisons*; For what doth it concern the Advancement of Wisdom, whether *London*, or *Paris*, St. *Marks* Church or *Paul's* be the faireſt. The like modesty must be observed at your return home; lest you should seem to have lost, in your travel through other Nations, the natural affection so justly due to your Own; which may raise suspicion of a change, either in your Religion or Allegiance.

10. *Condemn* none with too much *severity*, you find in never so palpable an *Errour of Judgment or Manners*, (which for the most part are meerly respective to Time and Place) lest you should bait a Trap with a Precedent strong

ſtrong enough one day, to catch your ſelf: All things, we ſtile *Sin*, lying in the bowels of men, as Metals do in the Earth, under an equal parity, till *Policy*, for the benefit of Commerce, ſtamps them with the Image of the *Devil*, and on their Ranverſe *Puniſhment* and *Shame*: No more proper to them by nature, than for Gold or Silver to bear the Impreſs and ſuperſcription of a Prince, before it be coyned, and made currant, or prohibited by *Law*, the *Maſter of the Mint*, in relation to *Good* or *Evil*.

Though it may ſute no leſs with your years, than mine that adviſe you, to follow ſuch *faſhions in Apparel*, as are in uſe as well at home as abroad, thoſe being leaſt gazed on that go as moſt men do: yet it cannot be juſtified before the face of Diſcretion, or the Charity due to your own Country-men, to eſteem no *Doublet* well made, nor *Glove* worth wearing, that hath not paſſed the hands of a *French Taylor*, or retains not the *Scent* of a *Spaniſh perfumer*. A vanity found incident to *England*, and the people, our ordinary account reckons *Eaſt* of us: a ſtrong preſumption, the laſt arrived within the Pale of Civility, elſe they would be more confident of their own *Inventions*, had they not ſtill freſh in memory, from whence they derived the Arts of *Building*, *Cloaths*, *Behaviour*, &c. A Fancy, though fooliſh, yet eaſier excuſed, did it not aſcend to the more rare and uſeful *Endowments of the Mind*, ſo far as to put a miraculous eſtimation upon the *writings of ſtrangers*, and a baſe

alay on better of *their own*: Since, upon a ſtrict examination, the moiſt Heads of theſe colder Climates may be found to have dropped as pure Reaſon, as the nearer approach of the Sun was ever yet able to draw from the more toſted brains of *Spain*, *Italy*, or *France*. Therefore lanch not too ſuddenly into a rough and deep *Cenſure* of ſuch *Authors*, as you find go contrary to the high tide of Opinion for the preſent, leſt compel'd to a retractation, you confeſs your ſelf apt to be miſled by the common prejudice daily found in the ways of deſert: As ſuch muſt needs be, that would have caſheered *Bacon's Advancement of Learning*, as an Heretical and impertinent piece, but for an invincible ſtrength of contrary Judgements that came to his reſcue from beyond the ſeas: *Engliſhmen* bearing a greater reverence to the *Votes*, and a leſs prejudice to the *Inventions* of *ſtrangers*, than their own; elſe our *Authours* needed not to *travel* for repute, eſpecially at that time when our *Pulpits*, no leſs than *Theaters*, condemned of Ignorance all the known world beſides. For however it might be with us in the time of *Edward* the fourth, and notwithſtanding the Character *Phillip de Comines* gives of the bluntneſs of the *Engliſh Pen*, were then no hyperboly; yet now no Reader unmuffled by Malice or Ignorance but muſt acknowledge that the late King did not only in that vanquiſh all near his rank, that almoſt ever went before him: But hath left many, though ſhort of his parts, very well able to grapple with

the

the choiceſt of other Princes ſubjects.

11. If the wiſdom of the *States of Holland* were warily obſerved (who give no other anſwer for the preſent, to any new Propoſition, but *Peut-eſtre*, in Engliſh, *It may be ſo:* (by which they civily evade a peremptory aſſerting or denying the validity of any Argument) The Hell of the *Inquiſition* would not be ſo repleniſhed with the Souls of poor unadviſed Chriſtians: who, made giddy with an impertinent Zeal, and confident in the Promiſes of the treacherous Jeſuites their Country men (that have ways enough to betray you, without diſcovering themſelves) communicate to them *probibited Books*, in hope to convert them (which I adviſe you by no means to carry with you:) This *M. Mole* found true in a tedious and ſharp Captivity, reported to be betrayed by Sr. *T. M.* at the inſtigation of the Lord *R.* to whom he was aſſigned Tutor, by the Earl of Ex.

12. To the *Euchariſt*, met in the Streets, (through which it is often born to the houſes of the Sick,) Cuſtom, no leſs than the Injunction of the Magiſtrate, obligeth all to kneel, or bow: The which if a Stranger neglects, he is liable to the Inquiſitors: Now if it be an Idol, St. *Paul* ſaith *an Idol is nothing:* And if it renders the Meat offered unto it no ways diſtaſtful to a ſound Conſcience, how ſhould it deprave me to be uncovered, as the reſt are? It being palliated, if not abſolutely decided this way, in the caſe of *Naman*, and the Duke of *Saxony*; whom

whom *Luther* permitted to assist the Emperour *Charles* the fifth at a Mass, only to preserve a temporal Dignity, covering it with the title of Civil respect.

13. Pity, rather than spurn at those you see prostrate before a *Crucifix*: Considering we find it enjoyned, by the Penner of the *Practice of Piety* (too often printed, to carry the marks of any thing contrary to the genuine mind of that Protestant Church) that *all communicants, at the article of their receiving, should imagine the posture of Christ upon the Cross.* And if so, doth it not leave room for a Query, who is the most mistaken, He that makes to himself a Representation in his Heart, or on the Wall? Yet this, with the rest, is layed before you only as an Advise, not a stumbling block, and occasion of offence.

14. Enter no farther into *Foraign Churches*, than the hand of your own Religion and Conscience leads you; For, though the Body of their *Worship* do not take you, the higher expressions of *Zeal*, and *Austerity* (in the preciser sort of Church-men, and people, taken for the Soul of all Professions) may seem to discover some defects in your own: And so, displeased on all sides, you dash upon the rock of Atheisme; as such do, that value the Merits and Sanctity of Christ, by His, who pretends to be his Vicar; and all moral Virtue by the scant Standard, they find it measured by at *Rome*, where they put out the eyes of the less advised with the dust of Antiquity,

quity, which we ſeeming to want, are not ſo catching to thoſe, not wiſe enough to look behind the Curtain of *Formalities*.

Yet where Conſcience and Reaſon give you leave to *comply* (as poſſibly they may in many things) do it ingeniouſly, without compulſion or dint of an Argument; left, oppoſing a Truth upon the By, you give them cauſe to think you guilty of Falſhood in the Main.

15. Conſort with none who *Scoff* at their own *Religion*, but ſhun them as ſpies or Atheiſts: For Strangers honour them moſt, next to thoſe of their reſpective Tenents, that are modeſtly zealous in the obſervation of their own.

16. Eſchew *the company of* all *Engliſh* you find *in Orders*: For as they have imitated the lapſed Angels, in falling from their firſt ſtation, ſo they bear the like malevolence to all they deſpair of bringing into the ſame condemnation: being for the moſt part deſpicable, poor, and Melancholy; The Proteſtants eying them as Apoſtates and the Catholicks as Fugitives and unprofitable devourers of the Natives bread. Thus young *Scholars*, becauſe not able to reach all they deſire at home, like Prodigals abandon the boſom of their Mother, unadviſedly caſting themſelves into that of want and reproach: Viſcount *Mont's* Brother being but a Porter to a Religious houſe, and many of the reſt expoſed to ſuch hard and deſperate Miſſions into the *Indies* and other remote Climates, as their lives are rendered

rendered no less tedious than uncertain.

17. Besides, he that beyond Sea frequents his own *Country men*, forgets *the principal part of his errand, Language*, and possibly the opportunity to get Experience how to manage his Expence: *Frugality* being of none so perfectly learned, as of the *Italian* and *Scot*; natural to the first, and as necessary to the latter. The English also are observed abroad more quarrelsom with their own Nation, than strangers, and therefore marked out [redacted] most dangerous Companions.

18. An *Injury* in foraign air is cheaper passed over than revenged, the endeavour of which hath (not seldom) drawn on a greater: Besides, if Patience and Evasion be not learned by your Travel, the Bills you have taken up may perhaps be discharged, as to The Merchant, but quite lost in regard of any return of Profit to such inconsiderate men, as suffer themselves to be transported with their *Passions*: since he that is Master of them, shall act and speak reason, when others, destitute of that Moderation, appear mad, uttering nothing but noise.

19. *Play* is destructive and fatal to Estates every where, but to the Persons of Gamesters abroad, rendring them the Objects of Cheating and Quarrels: all by-standers being apt to attest to the prejudice of a Stranger.

20. He that desires quiet and to decline *Quarrels* (undertaken by Strangers upon irreparable disadvantages) must, above all, avoid giving or receiving *favours from Women*:

There

There being none, out of the List of common Whores, any way acceptable to which some Ruffin. (in *Italy* cal'd *Braves*; who will murder a man for a Crown) doth not pretend an interest, either as a Husband, a Kinsman, or a Servant: Neither are they safely conversed withall, in relation to health; Participating so far of the nature of Devils, that they are not only instrumental in the Sin, but many times also in the Punishment.

Make not the *Promise of Marriage* a Baud to your *Lust*, nor think her fruit worth owning, shall yield possession upon no more formal obligation: Presuming then if she can dispence with the Ceremony, by which Law only makes her yours, it is no less possible, that time and the wearisom repetition of the same embraces, may upon as handsom a provocation, tempt her to change the Substance.

He that owns a *Whore* in a more peculiar sence, than a common Jakes, descends from the dignity of Reason; And yet I have known some so far transported as to marry such an one to the infamy of their Families, no less than their own future discontent; making *a mercenary Woman* Arbitrator and Guardian of their Issue: Contrary to the wiser practice of *Spain*, where none are admitted Judges of anothers interest, that have taken fees as Pleaders themselves, lest former use should convert them into Bribes: It being hard to forego a profitable custom, and as impossible to impropriate such cattel as to monopolize the Air; For the Bar of Honour being once leaped over by that

Sex,

Sex, there remains nothing certain to the owner, but the open fields of Shame and repentance.

21. If tempted by *an impatient Affection* to any thing, not without danger or difficulty attained, Catechize your ſelf with this Queſtion; What wiſh, Fortune or Labour ever preſented you with, that, after a full Fruition, did not ſoon grow tedious, or, at beſt came not far ſhort of what creaking Expectation had undertaken it ſhould perform? And let this contemplation moderate your deſ[illegible] That all worldly profit or pleaſure is correſpondent to a like meaſure of anxiety and weariſomneſs: Therefore let no importunity warp you contrary to right reaſon and conveniency, ever arming your conſtancy againſt Flattery and impudence, ſtrong aſſailants, eſpecially marching under the tears and carreſſes of a handſome and ſeeming innocent *Woman*, from whom it is no diſhonour to fly, and with whom there is no ſafety to treat, for fear, like blind *Sampſon*, you grind out the remainder of your days, between Want and Repentance, and be led in Triumph by her Friends, and thoſe ſuborned to ſeduce you, more ready to ſacrifice the Thanks to their own Nets, than to the eaſineſs of your Nature, to which it is only due.

22. If any then be furiouſly *enamoured on you*, whoſe Fortune cannot correſpond for the Troubles incident to Marriage, (which God knows are not a few) venture the loſs of Her, rather than your ſelf; it being one of the higheſt

higheſt pieces of madneſs, to hang an indiſſolvable padlock upon your future hopes, only *to ſave a Wenches Longing*; with whoſe ſoft humour miſcarriage is more ſuitable, than a Man's armed with ſo much advice: Therefore fly from ſuch, as incurable Plagues, nothing being more catching to unbiaſed nature, than a ſeeming violent Affection; which if not built upon a former promiſe, you may leave her juſtly to the melancholly Society of her own Folly; out of which it is all odds but ſhe may happily recover, or imitate the voluptuous death of that Taylor reported to have whined away himſelf for the love of Queen *Elizabeth*.

23. Who travels *Italy*, handſom, young and beardleſs, may need as much caution and circumſpection, to protect him from the *Luſt of men*, as the Charms of Women: an impiety not to be credited by an honeſt heart, did not the ruines of *Sodome*, calcin'd by this unnatural heat, remain ſtill to witneſs it. And as I have heard, they continue ſo enamoured this uncouth way of Luſt, (led by what imaginary delight I know not) that ſuch as Age and Weakneſs have ſet beyond the power of Acting, ſuffer themſelves to be Patients in that noyſom Beaſtiality: maintaining to this end Emiſſaries abroad, to entice men of delicate complexions, to the houſes of theſe decrepit Lechers, under pretence of an aſſignation made by ſome Feminine beauty; And thus enſnared, the poor uncircumſpect young man cannot with conſcience do, or ſafety refuſe this baſe Office.

23. Where

23. Where you never Mean to return, extend your *Liberality* at first coming, as you see convenient, during your aboads for what you give at parting is quite lost.

24. Make no ostentation of *carrying* any considerable Sum of *Money about you*; lest you turn that to your destruction, which under God is a Strangers best preservation: And *Remove* not from place to place, but with company you know: The not observing whereof is the cause, so many of our Countrymens graves were never known; having been buried in as much obscurity as kill'd.

25. *Inns* are dangerous, and so are all *fresh Acquaintance*, especially where you find their offer of friendship to out-bid a Strangers desert: The same may be said of *servants*; not to be entertained upon ordinary commendations.

26. Next to Experience, *Languages* are the richest lading of a Traveller: among which *French* is most useful, *Italian* and *Spanish* not being so fruitful in Learning (except for the Mathematicks and Romances) Their other Books being gelt by the Fathers of the inquisition.

27. He that is carried by his curiosity under the Jurisdiction of the *Turk*, or other *Mahumetan* Princes, shall be used (as they esteem him) like a dog; and so to be armed with a more invincible Patience, than commonly accompanys a man free-born: Insomuch as I heard a Kinsman say, who had been at *Jerusalem*, that the richest experience he brought from thence, could not in the least proportion

portion recompence the trouble he met with, bringing home certain marks of the incivility of the people, for an uncertain diſcovery of the places fam'd for *Chriſt's* Death and Burial, And though he thought he merited by it (a conceit I know uncapable of place in your head) yet no reward could hire him to repeat again thoſe weary ſteps: Therefore I adviſe you to believe rather what you may read in your Study, than go thither to diſprove it.

28. I can ſay little of *Plantations*, having had no experience of them: But that he, which changeth his own Country, ſhall not, in my mind, do ſo well, to go farther from the Sun, or where he may not at leaſt ſhare in the *Government*.

ADVICE TO A SON.

I. V. Government.

1. CONtract not the common diſtemper, incident to vulgar brains, who ſtill imagine more eaſe from ſome *untried Government*, than that they lie under: not having paſſed the firſt Form of Experience, where we may learn, that *Tyranny is no leſs natural to power, than luſt to Youth.*

If happy for the preſent, 'tis no better than madneſs to endeavour a *Change*; if but indifferently Well, folly: For though a Veſſel may yield the more for tilting or ſtirring, it renders all in it unpleaſant to preſent uſe: The Die of *War* ſeldom turning to their advantage, that firſt caſt it: ſuch therefore as cannot make all well, diſcharge their conſcience in wiſhing it ſo; Government being the care of Providence, not mine. But if it be your Fortune to fall under ſuch *commotions*, imitate not the wild *Iriſh* or *Welch*, who during Eclipſes, run about beating kettles and pans, thinking their clamour

clamour and vexations available to the assistance of the higher Orbs, though they advance nothing but their own miseries, being often maimed, but at best layed by, without respect or reward, so soon as the State is returned to it's former splendor: Common Souldiers resembling Cocks, that fight for the benefit and ambition of others, more than their own: This proves it the wholsomer counsel, to stay within doors, and avoid such malignant effects, as people attribute to the supposed distempers of the superiour Planets. But if forced to take a stream, let it be that which leads to the desires of the *Metropolis*, the chief City being for the most part preserved, who ever prevails, in a civil Commotion, abounding in Money and Friends, the readiest Commodities to purchase quiet.

2. Be not the *pen or mouth of a multitude* congregated by the gingling of their Fetters; lest a pardon or Complyance knock them off, and leave you, as the Soul of that wicked and deformed Body, hanging in the Hell of the Law, or to the vengeance of an exasperated Power: But rather have Patience and see the Tree sufficiently shaken, before you run to scramble for the fruit; lest instead of profit and honour, you meet with a cudgel or a stone: And then (if possible) seem to fall in, rather out of compulsion, than design: Since the Zeal of the Rabble is not so soon heated by the reall Oppressions of their Rulers, but may be as easily cooled by the specious Promises and breach of Authority. Wherefore nurse not *Ambition* with *your own*

blood, nor think the wind of Honour ſtrong enough to blow away the reproachful ſenſe of a ſhameful, if poſſibly that of a violent Death: for if *Solomons* Rule be true, that *A living Dogg is better than a Dead Lyon*, a Quick evaſion cannot but be deemed more man-like, than a Buried valour.

3. A *Multitude* inflamed under a *religious* pretence, are at firſt as unſafely oppoſed, as joyned with; reſembling Bears exaſperated by the cry of their whelps, and do not ſeldom, if unextinguiſhed by hope or delays, conſume all before them, to the very thing they intend to preſerve: *Zeal*, like the Rod of *Moſes*, devouring all for Diabolical, that dares but appear before it in the ſame ſhape: The inconſiderate Rabble, with the Swine in the Goſpel, being more furiouſly agitated by the diſcontented Spirits of others, than their own; who cannot be ſo happy in a Sea of Blood and devaſtation, the dire effects of war, as in peace, though invaded with ſome *Oppreſſion*; a Scab that breaks out oftentimes in the moſt wholſom conſtituted Bodys of States, and may with leſs ſmart be continued on, than picked off. And becauſe the Generality are uncapable, in regard of number, either of reward, or puniſhment, therefore not of uſe to the Ambition or ſafety of others, but for the preſent, like gun-powder during the flaſh of the diſcontent, and as a Lock in a River, are only of force upon the firſt opening, to drive on the deſign of Innovation; looſing themſelves afterwards in a more univerſal dilatation, either out of wearineſs, or doubt of the conſequence.

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4. The Example of *Brutus*, rather than *Cato*, is to be followed in *bad times*; it being safer to be patient, than active, or apper a fool, than a malecontent: An Evasion not only justified in the person of *David*, and by the eloquence of *Paul* before his Heathen Judges, but our *Saviour* himself is not heard to inveigh against the present *Power*, though it had made the Head of the *Baptist* the Frolick to a Feast.

Own the *Power*, but not the *Faults* of the *Magistrate*; nor make *Law*, assigned for a buckler to defend your self, a sword to hurt others: lest partiality should allure you to pass the sentence of Approbation upon any thing unwarrantable in its own nature. Neither let any Formalities used at a mimical Tribunal (as that was, set up in the case of *Naboth*) perswade you to more than a passive compliance: Since such may seem to make greater, rather than diminish the wages of their iniquity, that seek to cover Rapine with a Gown; which the Sword might patronize with more decency: And this observed, the people might cheaper receive all their Injury at the first hand, which these Retailers of wickedness utter at more intolerable rates: The result of all is, *Ahab* might better have committed murther single, than render so many accessary, under the formal pretence of a Religious Fast, *&c.*

5. *Before you fix*, consult all the Objections Discretion is able to make, But *once resolved*, desert not your Party upon every Access of a Fever, as many melancholly spirits did these wars: who, by their often and unseasonable flittings,

wore themſelves ſo out on both ſides, as they were not worth owning, when ſucceſs undertook for them, that they did turn in earneſt; Irreſolution rendering pardon more difficult from either faction, than it could have proved, had they remained conſtant to any; Deveſting themſelves of the enſigns of *Fidelity*, looked upon by all with the eyes of pity, and do often meet with Honour, ſeldom fail of Forgiveneſs, from a Noble enemy, who cannot but befriend Virtue, though he hath found it in arms againſt him. Yet if you perceive the Poſt you have contracted, to totter, through undermining Treachery or weakneſs, you may purchaſe your preſervation by all honeſt endeavours; For he that prolongs his life by the forfeiture of a *Truſt* he has undertaken, husbands it worſe, than if he buried it in the field of Honour; *Traitors* in all ages being equally deteſted on both ſides.

6. *Submit* quietly *to any Power* Providence ſhall pleaſe to mount into the Saddle of Soveraignty, without enquiring into their Right *for Conſcience ſake*, or their Birth, in relation of Honour; Remembring, that not only *David*, but the moſt famous for ſucceſs, did not only cut off others Lines, but were natural ſhepheards under the Cope of Heaven, before they attained to be metaphorically ſo under the Canopy of the Chair of State; which once poſſeſſed, clarifies the preſent Incumbent's Title from the greateſt imputations incident to Birth or Proceeding. And the many-headed Beaſt, the multitude, is ſeldom more, ſomtimes leſs

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galled and vexed by the new, than the old Saddle or Riders: who, out of their greater experience of her brutish patience, are more apt to load her with the Trappings of Power, and the Furniture suitable to a Throne; whose Inventory Pride increaseth proportionable to continuance, and the presumption they have of their own ability to keep the people from attempting their Remove. This may render it indifferent to a wise man, what Card is Trump: whose Game may possibly prove as fair under Clubs as Diamonds; neither ought he to be troubled whether his Fetters consist of Many Links, or but One.

7. If Authority exacts an *Acknowledgment* from you, give it with all readiness: It being the highest Frenzy to dispute your Innocency with those able to convert the greatest into a fault; For, if it be no dishonour to submit to Thieves, if fallen into their Hands; Let not the example of a few Fools (who, like Lice, thrive no where so well as in a Prison) tempt you to oppose your felicity against the Imperative Power, under which the disposure of your person doth wholly remain, and therefore madness to deny it words.

I abhor the Idolatry of the Heathen, yet cannot but mind you of their Humility, in adoring any thing the People set up, though but hewed out of the Body of an Oak, most auspicious unto Swine, and principally after shaking by such Storms as Devils are reported to have raised: Therefore if you may enjoy the liberty of your own Conscience and Estate,

queſtion not the Deſert or Right of thoſe, under whom you do it.

8. He that ſuffers his *Conſcience* to miſlead him in civil Obedience, makes his Guide a ſtumbling-block; nor conſidering that *All Governments now extant had their foundations laid in the dirt*, though time may have dried it up by Oblivion, or flattering Hiſtorians licked it off.

Think it no diſparagement to your birth or diſcretion, to give honour to *Freſh Families* who cannot be denied to have aſcended by the ſame ſteps, thoſe did we ſtile *Antient*: *New* being a term only reſpecting Us, not the World. For what is, was before Us, and will be when We are no more: War follows Peace and Peace War, as Summer doth Winter, and Foul weather Fair: Neither are any ground more in this Mill of Viciſſitudes, than ſuch *obſtinate Fools* as glory in the repute of *State-Martyrs* after they are dead; which concerns them leſs than what was ſaid 100 years before they were born: It being the greateſt odds, Their names ſhall not be regiſtred, or if they be, after death they are no more ſenſible of the honour, than *Alexanders* great Horſe, or any Beaſt elſe, his Maſters Indulgence or the Writers, are pleaſed to record. Neither, in a ſtrict ſenſe, do they deſerve ſuch honour, for being able to date their poſſeſſions from before the *Conqueſt*; Since if any be due, it wholly belongs to them that were buried in the Ruines of their Countries Liberty, and not to ſuch as helped to make their Graves, as in likelihood moſt did whom

whom the *Normans* ſuffered to remain. Therefore 'tis madneſs to place our felicity out of our own reach, or to meaſure Honour or Repute by any other Standard than the Opinion we conceive of it our ſelves: It being unpoſſible to find a general agreement in any good or evil report; The Raign of Queen *Elizabeth* being no leſs traduced, than that of *Richard* the Third is juſtified.

Be not therefore licoriſh after *Fame*, found by experience to carry a trumpet, that doth for the moſt part congregate more Enemies than Friends.

If you duly conſider the *inconſtancy of Common Applauſe*, and how many have had their *Fame* broken upon the ſame Wheel that raiſed it, and puffed out by their breath that kindled the firſt report of it, you would be as little elevated with the ſmiles, as dejected by the frowns of this gawdy Goddeſs, formed like *Venus*, out of no more ſolid matter than the Foam of the People, found by experience to have poyſoned more than ever ſhe cured; Being ſo volatile, as ſhe is uncapable of fixation in the richeſt Jewels of Nature, Vertue, or Grace; The compoſition of that Body wholly conſiſting of contradictions, no readier to ſet up this day, than ſhe may be to pull down the next: This renders it the loweſt puerility to be pleaſed or angry at *Reports*: Good being inflamed, and Evil quenched, by nothing ſooner than a conſtant neglect.

9. *Oſtentation of Birth*, at no time decent, cannot in this be ſafe, wherein the very Foun-

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dations of *Honour* are not only ſhaken but laid bare: Beſides, many are ſo abuſed in the ſound of their own, or their Fathers *Titles*, that by buſtling for the upper end, they often render that a ſhame, which in it ſelf is no crime: as for example, If the Son of the *Common Hunt* (in *Engliſh*, the Lord Majors Dog-keeper) by reaſon of the Title of Eſquire annext to his place, ſhould conſider himſelf as a man of Worſhip, &c. Were it not ridiculous? when, God knows, the appellation is uſed for the honour of the City, not the perſon that wears it. The ſame might be ſaid of all Mechanick Places at Court, which to render them the more vendible, were blazoned with the falſe Alchymie of a like Title; ſo far from advancing Repute, that it ſets it back in the Opinion of all judicious men: Obſerve how ridiculous ſuch Animals are, to pride themſelves in the ſhadow and tail of Honour, when the ſubſtance is vaniſhed, and the Head —— &c.

10. Deſpiſe none for *meanneſs of Blood*, yet do not ordinarily make them your Companions, for debaſing your own; unleſs you find them clariſied by excellent Parts, or gilded by Fortune or Power: *Solomon* having ſent the *ſluggard to the Piſmire* to learn induſtry, and to the *living Dog* rather than the *dead Lion*, for Protection.

11. It cannot be looked upon as an act of prudence, *to do more for another, than in reaſon may be expected from him again* upon a like occaſion; unleſs ſo far as I am obliged to it out of *gratitude*: and no farther can my Prince be

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any one elſe expect aſſiſtance from me; For if I have not my livelyhood by him, I cannot apprehend any cauſe why I ſhould expoſe it for him, eſpecially if I may with any probability be happy and keep it without him. And becauſe moſt of the firſt Proprietors of Government, in our days, and long before, have aſcended the Throne at the Coſt and Trouble, if not contrary to the Mind of the People they command, why ſhould any loſe that for their Preſervation, which was never gained by their Benevolence? Therefore if thoſe at the Helm have loſt their power, and I not able to find a particular Engagement or Intereſt ſtrong enough to make their good ſucceſs inſeparably neceſſary to my preſent or future well-being, I am not bound to go farther on with them, than ſuits with my ſafety, and the ſecurity my judgment gives, that they are able to bring me off: All we owe to Governours, is Obedience, which depends wholly on Power, and therefore ſubject to follow the ſame Fate and periſh with it: For, Friendſhip can be contracted between none that ſtand ſo far remote from the Line of Parity: Therefore all ſuperlative Powers are excepted out of this Commerce, becauſe ſituated, in truth or pretence, under a Divine Right, which no intereſt of mine can reach, much leſs procure: Then, being ſo far above us, they can be nothing to us, longer than able to ſupport themſelves: For if they have an extraordinary and particular eſtabliſhment in Heaven, it were blaſphemy to think they can be pulled down by

by any but God; in the oppoſition of whoſe Vengeance I am no more able than willing to ſtand; as thoſe muſt that appear unſeaſonably for them. Beſides, Powers are eſtabliſhed to protect us, who are to live happy under them, not miſerably for them, if poſſibly to be prevented; ſince all ſorts of Government may be rekoned among the reſt of Gods Plagues, poured down upon men for their oppreſſion and diſobedience, in the Primitive Parity, which makes our Wills, like *Eves*, ſubject to others.

12. No *Government* can be ſafely *engaged*, by a ſingle perſon, *beyond requital*: *Kings* thinking it a diminution of Honour, and *Republicks* a dangerous ſtep to popularity: Here you may ſee the continual uſe of Circumſpection, ſince 'tis poſſible for Virtue to form a weapon againſt it ſelf.

If it be dangerous to *over-oblige* a King, it is mortal in relation to a *Free-State*; whoſe ingratitude, no leſs than Requital, is divided among ſo many, as they are ſcarce capable of ſhame or thanks: Every Particular diſavowing what is generally thought amiſs, And all faults buried in his Grave, that hath the fortune to die next. Therefore, if poſſible, avoid *Siding*, yet if compelled, remember it is deducible, both from the Hiſtory of the great Earl of *Warwick* and *Stanly*, That a King may be as ſafely deſtroyed as preſerved: And for Common-wealths, they are in nothing more perfect than Ingratitude: Either Government finding it better husbandry,

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to pardon Enemies, than to reward Friends.

13. *A reconciled Enemy* is not ſafely to be *truſted*; yet if any, a Great one: It being eaſier for ſuch to execute their malice than conceal it.

Imagine few the more capable of *Truſt*, becauſe you have formerly obliged them: nothing being more ordinary than Natures that quit ſuch ſcores with hatred and treachery: And if you conſider whoſe hearts have been moſt empty of pity towards *unfortunate Princes*, Experience may preſent you with millions of ſuch, whoſe hands formerly were filled with their bounty.

Ignorance reports of Witches, That they are unable to hurt, till they have received an Alms; which though ridiculous in it ſelf, yet in this ſenſe verified; That *Charity ſeldom goes to the Gate, but it meets with ingratitude*: They proving for the moſt part the greateſt Enemies, that have been bought at the deareſt rates of friendſhip, which proceeds from the high pride of Humanity: Therefore be as little flattered to do good out of hope of requital, as I would have you terrified out of fear of the contrary.

14. Grant, if ever, a *Curteſie* at firſt asking; for, as expedition doubles a Benefit, ſo delay converts it into little leſs than an Injury, and robs you of the Thanks; the fate of churliſh Natures: Whereas ſome, I have known able to apparel their Refuſals in ſuch ſoft robes of Courtſhip, that it was not eaſie to be diſcerned whether the Requeſt or Denial were moſt decent.

Do not hackney out your *Promise* to the full Rage of Desire; lest tiring in *performance* and becoming a Bankrupt in power, you forfeit repute and purchase certain Enemies for uncertain Friends. Yet when the *suffrages* of many, in relation to your particular profit are to be purchased, wise mens practice hath proved it no indiscretion to be lavish in this kind; where the dishonour of non-performance with others is quite buried in the greater benefit accruing to your self; it being as ordinary for hope to exceed modesty in asking, as an engaged Power comes short of the ability, if not the Will to perform: Therefore in this case you must supply with thanks, what you are not able to do in effect.

15. Be not nice in *Assisting*, with the advantages Nature or Art may have given you, such as want them; who do not seldom in exchange, part with those of fortune, to such as can manage their *Advice* well: as they only do, that *never give Counsel till called, nor continue it longer, than they find it acceptable.*

If one in power ask your *Advice*, in a business of Consequence, it may appear *rashness*, if not folly, *to answer suddenly* upon the place: It not being impossible, but that the *design* of his *Question* may as well be to try *your* sufficiencie, as to strengthen *his own*: However so much *time* as may be borrowed with safety from the emergency of any occasion, is likelier to encrease than abate the weight of a Result: And in this interim you may gain leisure to

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diſcover, what *Reſolution* ſuites beſt the mind of the Party, who is commonly gratified moſt by ſuch as comply neareſt with his own Judgment; which 'tis ever wiſdom to obſerve, where all the *counſels* given are indifferent. Nor will it ſavour of ſo much reſpect to his perſon or care of his affairs, to determine *extempore*, as upon *premeditation*: It being *the Cuſtom of great ones to value things, not proportionable to their worth, but the ſweat and time they coſt.*

16. 'Tis not dutiful nor ſafe *to drive Your Prince, by a witty Anſwer, beyond all poſſibility of Reply.*: It being more excuſable to appear Rich, than Wiſe at the prejudice of one in ſuperlative power: who have their ears ſo continually ſoftned by Flattery, as they eaſier bear diminution in their Treaſure, which they look upon as below and without them, than in *Wit, Handſomneſs, Horſemanſhip, &c.* which their Paraſites have long made them believe are inherent in them. This a *Carver at Court*, formerly in good eſteem with King *James*, found to his prejudice, who being laughed at by him, for ſaying *The wing of a Rabbet*, maintained it as congruous as *the fore-leg of a Capon*, a Phraſe uſed in *Scotland*, and by himſelf here; which put the King ſo out of Patience, as he never looked on the Gentleman more. The like I have been told of a *Biſhop*, who being reproved by the ſame Prince for *Preaching againſt the Papiſts*, during the *Treaty* with *Spain*, replied, *he could never ſay more than his Majeſty had Writ.* Go thy way, quoth the King, and

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expect thy next *Tranſlation* in Heaven, not from me: meaning he would never better his See. This humour makes theſe terreſtrial Gods more auſpicious to Fools, than thoſe *Solomon* ſaith, *are able to render a reaſon.*

17. It is not ſafe for a *Secretary* to mend the Copy his Maſter hath ſet him, unleſs owned as from his former inſpirations, leſt he ſhould grow jealous that you valued your conceptions before his; who meaſures his Sufficiency by the latitude of his Employment, not the depth of his natural Parts. This made the Lord Chancellour *Egerton* the willinger to exchange incomparable Doctor *D.* for the leſs ſufficient, though in this more modeſt, Mr. *T. B.*

But in caſe his Affairs be wholly left to your management, you muſt not only look to correſpond for his miſcarriages, but as obſtinately renounce any Honour may be given you, to his prejudice: imputing all to his ſingle ſufficiency, your ſelf owning no higher place than that of the Executioner of his commands. For though *many great men*, like Properties or Puppets, are *managed by their ſervants*; yet ſuch are moſt dear to them, as can ſo carry their hand in their actings, that they make them appear leſs Fools, than in truth they are: eaſily done, by giving them the honour *to concede or deny in publick*, without interpoſing any other arguments againſt it, than may become the mouth of a Servant, however you may order him in *private*.

18. *Write* not the *Faults* of perſons near

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the Throne, in any Nation you reſide in; leſt your Letters ſhould be intercepted, and you ſent out of the World before your time: But reſerve ſuch diſcourſe for the ſingle ear of your Maſter, into which you muſt pour it with more Caution than Malice, leſt it ſhould come to be diſcovered, as it is odds but it will, and then the next endeavour is revenge: It being *leſs danger to traduce a King than his Minions.* The firſt ſtill looked upon as above blame, becauſe uncapable of puniſhment; but the latter are not only ſubject to accuſations, but the aggravations of their Enemies; which fills them full of Caution and Prejudice to all they fear are able, or but willing to detect them. I could produce ſad effects that have followed the want of care in this, but that I intend Advice, not an Hiſtory.

It is an Office unbecoming a Gentleman to be an *Intelligencer*, which in real truth is no better than a *Spie* (who are often brought to the Torture, and die miſerably, though no words are made of it, being a uſe conniyed at by all Princes:) To whom I give this Caution, That they ſtay not after their Patrons are called home, which do not ſeldom (in emulation to their Succeſſor, or to gratifie the Prince they have treated withal, and it may be, from whom they have received Preſents and high commendations to their own King) diſcover all that are imployed to do him hurt.

Many, by woful experience, have taſted the bitter conſequence of *delivering* their *ſingle*

Judgement to men in Power, or revealing their miſ-carriages, when able to produce no ſtronger proof than their own: For ſuch do not rarely, out of forgetfulneſs, or ſome other more politick end, add to the *Information*; and ſo make you in the opinion of others, to recant, or juſtifie a Lie. For if it be a *Prince* who repeats your report, you cannot with ſafety or manners due to the dignity of his perſon, interrupt him, or, in the concluſion, rectifie his relation with ſo ſtout a forehead, as an innocent heart cannot but own. Therefore wait in ſuch caſes of *ſecreſie* you muſt, till ſome opportunity produceth a *medium* ſtrong enough to ſatisfie him to whom you make the relation, and ſcreen your ſelf from all imputation of Falſhood. For want of which caution I have known many ground to pieces between the weight of their own credit, and the parties accuſed.

It is always *ſlippery about the Throne*, but moſt dangerous, where a *Prince* out of diſtruſt of his own abilities, or attention to the voyce of Pleaſure, leaves his affairs wholly to the conduct of a *Favourite:* For there to opine contrary to the guſto of ſuch a Subject, how neceſſary or prudent ſoever your *Advice* is, will be looked upon as given out of *Deſign*, if not in *Oppoſition* to his greatneſs. By this I have known many fall into the diſpleaſure of their Soveraign, whoſe ears are more open to the Complaints of his *Minion*, than the juſter Defences of a more faithful Servant: which can never come to be heard, there being no acceſs

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to him, but only through the mediation of the Party you have offended. Wherefore in such Governments there can be no security, but by proposing what Conveniency and Reason dictates by way of *Problem*. And if generally received, it may pass under *the Advice of others*, though contrary to the hair of the greatest Counseller, who in this Case knows not against whom to plant his revenge: a *Number* being no less uncapable of Fear than Reproof. But if you find any thing rejected, or but questioned by your Master upon premeditation, you may be sure the hand of *Joab* is in it, and so not to be prosecuted farther without running the hazzard of your ruine.

19. That it is not unlawful to serve, or bear Office or Arms under such as ascend the Throne, or other high places, by steps washed in bloud, you may be abundantly satisfied in Conscience, by the *Church in Nero's house*, the good *Centurion* and many others mentioned in Scripture.

20. *Court* him always you hope one day to make use of, but at the least Expence you can: observing the condition of *Men in power, to esteem better of such as they have done curtesies for, than those they have received greater from*; looking upon this as a shame, upon the other as an honour.

21. 'Tis a natural guard, and within the management of the most ordinary capacities, to keep an Enemy out at the Staves end; But suitable only to a superlative prudence, so wisely to govern your words and actions to-

wards a *Friend*, as may preſerve your ſelf from danger? Not to be done but by communicating to him no more than Diſcretion or Neceſſity ſhall warrant you to reveal; ſince men, in this relation, deſtroy as many out of folly as perfidiouſneſs: Wiſdom being a rarer ingredient in Friendſhip than Honeſty. This makes me think the Friend *Seneca* brags of, was only an *Utopian*; and therefore I ſhall paſs it by as a Romantick ſtrain, being rather a ſally of his Wit, than a real charge iſſuing out of the body of his Judgment. The higheſt *Love* I dare give credit to is that of *Jonathan*, yet granting he looked upon the words of *Samuel* as *Oracles*, no other probable way appeared to preſerve his *Family*, than by helping *David* to promote that he was throughly perſwaded he could not hinder. This put into the balance with the *frailty*, no leſs than the *rarity* of ſuch perſons, makes me adviſe you not to weigh that was, may be, and perhaps is, but how many more have been betrayed and undone, under the ſpecious pretext of Friendſhip: wherefore not to be truſted farther than the line of a reciprocal intereſt doth extend: no former merit being now able to give caution for a future truſt, becauſe depending upon the acceptance of the Receiver, not the value the Giver rates it at. To conclude, Though I think this a neceſſary Caution, in this perfidious Generation, yet I hope you will be ſo far tender of your own honour, as not wilfully to violate *ſo ſacred a Bond*, never broken or thought out of Faſhion, but by baſe hands and corrupted minds:

minds: *Deſertion of Friends* being none of the ſmalleſt ſigns portending the deſtruction of a people: For ſuch as out of a pretence of *Love*, betray others, will not ſpare their *King*, *Country*, or *God*.

22. *Mingle not* your *Intereſt* with a *Great Mans*, made deſperate by Debts or Court-injuries, whoſe breakings out prove fatal to their wiſeſt Followers and Friends: averred in the laſt Earl of *Eſſex* but one, where *Merrick* his Steward, and *Caſſe* his Secretary, though of excellent Parts, were both hanged. For ſuch unconcocted Rebellions turn ſeldom to the hurt of any, but the Parties that promote them: being commonly guided by the directions of their Enemies, as this was by *Cecil*, whoſe Creatures perſwaded *Eſſex* to this inconſiderate Attempt.

23. Let nothing unjuſtifiable or dangerous appear under *your Hand*, which, many years after, may riſe up in judgment againſt you, when things ſpoken may be forgot: as happened to the Duke of *Norfolk*, Sir *Gervaſe Elvis*, and a great Earl I knew led by the noſe all King *James* his raign, for fear of being queſtioned about Letters writ to ſo high a Perſon as is treaſon by the Law, to ſolicite, &c. Therefore I charge you, as you tender the bleſſing of your own ſafety, *not to write in an ill ſenſe*, whatever your Character be: For, if not tedious Examination, ſharp Torture will force you to produce a Key.

24. Avoid the folly of *Actæon*, that loſt the ſhape of a *Courtier*, by prying into their *Secrets*,

Religion taught him to worſhip: all humour Sr. *Edw. Coke* might have paid dearer for, had he publiſhed the contents of the Earl of *Somerſets* Letters in a leſs merciful Kings Reign than *James* his, of whoſe pardon the fouleſt faults taſted, yet became ſo highly irritated by this proud Lawyers indiſcretion, as to remove his anger from the *Priſoner* to the *Judge*, where it reſted till Death; who, by the Riches and Honours he poured upon ſuch heads, as his Youth found in Arms againſt him in *Scotland*, and in Junctо's in *England*, hath made it manifeſt, that a Prince is eaſier reconciled to an Enemy, who hath cauſed him to tremble, than a Subject that hath daily in his power the means to make him bluſh. Therefore if you attain any ſuch knowledge diſſemble it, or put the beſt Expoſition upon it.

25. Providence or a ſeverer Deſtiny hath houſed under all our roofs a ſufficient proportion of Calamities: Therefore 'tis folly to ſend to Market for troubles, as thoſe do that contract *foreign infelicities*, vexing themſelves for the loſſes of the Prince of *Conde* in *France*, the death of the King of *Sweden* in *Germany*, or the progreſs of the *Turks* in *Candy*, &c. *Tophet* is prepared of old, as well to torment the ambitious and unquiet ſpirits of buſie Subjects as Kings.

26. Afflict not your ſelf to ſee *the Reward of Wiſdom diſtributed among Fools*: For, thoſe the *Fathers* ſtone and excruciate by neglect, as the *Jews* did the *Prophets*. Their

Sons

Sons may raiſe Monuments, and curſe their Anceſtors, that out of fear to detect their own Ignorance, barred the gates of Preferment againſt all more able than themſelves to have paved a way to future felicity: It being the ordinary mode, if not Policy of the World, *to keep Folly at the Helm, and Wit under Hatches.*

27. One may attain to a higher degree of Honour and Power under a *Monarch*, than can be found room for in a *Republick*; as is apparent in ſome *Favourites* that have had the adminiſtration of all affairs. Yet in my opinion this is abundantly recompenſed, in the multitude, which the latter imploys who are ſecurer in what they enjoy, in not being ſubject to the paſſions of a ſingle judgment.

Republicks lie moſt obnoxious to popular *commotions*, *Monarchies* to *clandeſtine attempts*: in the firſt it is not ſafe to be found, unleſs they be ſo epidemical as may more than probably aſſure ſucceſs: in the latter not decent for a perſon of Honour, though warranted by never ſo much ſecurity: no hands being more loathſom than thoſe that ſmell of blood and trechery.

28. Though *Law* periſh (a thing unlikely, being the guard of all Peace) yet *Oratory* will ſtill keep in repute, as having more affections to work upon in a *Republick*, than a *Monarchy*; one judgment being eaſier foreſtalled than many: So that I may ſafely preſage, if a golden tongue fall under a ſubtile head, it may have a great influence upon the whole Senate.

29. Though I hope I have now reason to be confident you will accomplish the presage, divers long since made of your future *sufficiency*; Yet I should advise not to extend it by any publick demonstration, beyond the limits of your own *Profession*: since *the Study of the Law* being esteemed by all a full imployment for a whole man, if you should make a considerable digression into another Calling, it might occasion a jealousie in your *Clients*, you had neglected your own. The several Books, incomparable *Bacon* was known to read, besides those relating to *Law*, were objected to him, as an argument of his insufficiency to manage the place of *Soliciter General*, and may lie as a rub in all their ways, that shall out of vain-glory, to manifest a general knowledge, neglect this Caution.

30. Avoid in *your pleadings* such unnecessary Digressions, as some of the *Long Robe* do ordinarily make, from the Merit of the Cause, to the *Defamation* of the contrary Party: A Quicksand wherein *Coke*, that *Leviathan* of the Law, mired his repute. Nor could he divest this vanity after he was made a Judge; from which height it cast him to the hazard of his neck, had not the soft nature of King *James* broke his fall. Nor doth the *Antiquity* of it plead a better excuse, than that he retained the effeminate and weaker part, leaving the *Roman Elegancy* unimitated.

31. At a *Conference* to *speak last*, is no small advantage; as Mr. *John Hambden* wisely observed, who made himself still the Goal-keeper of

of his Party, giving his Oppoſites leiſure to loſe their reaſons in the loud and leſs ſignificant tempeſt, commonly ariſing upon a firſt Debate; in which, if he found his ſide worſted, he had the dexterous ſagacity to mount the Argument above the Heads of the major part: Whoſe ſingle reaſon did not ſeldom make the whole *Parliament* ſo far ſuſpicious of their own, as to approve his, or at leaſt give time for another Debate, by which he had the opportunity to muſter up more forces; thus by confounding the weaker, and tiring out the acuter judgments, he ſeldom failed to attain his ends.

32. If you be to vote in any *Publick Aſſemblys* avoid, as much as you may, giving concellion under your Hand to any private mans written Opinions: For you cannot, without experiment, believe how much your own judgment will be altered, and how crude your former Reaſons will appear to your ſelf, after they are ruminated and digeſted by Debate. Having ſince theſe Wars been admitted to *Councils*, where many of no great capacity have aſſiſted, I never knew any thing come ſo exactly framed out of one mans ſenſe, that did not receive a palpable amendment from the *Debates* of ſometimes much inferiour Judgments: Nay I have known ſome that have had the fortune to ſtart the *Idea*, which when it hath been preſented to them again in a perfect *Reſult*, have not been able to ſee the bottom of the wiſdom of it, without much difficulty and admiration: Neither

is

is this miraculous, but natural; For the *Fuller*, *Dier*, *Weaver*, *&c.* underſtand not each others Trades, yet between them all a good piece of Cloth is made.

33. As excellent *Painters* were not wont to fix upon a ſingle Beauty, but did borrow an *Eye* of this, and a *Lip*, *Noſe*, *&c.* from others, out of which was formed an exquiſite *Venus*: ſo ſhall you do well to *propoſe more than one for Imitation*, the only way to render you compleat: ſince a man abſolute in all points hath not yet riſen within the Circle of the largeſt experience. Which renders them obnoxious to Cenſure, rather than Commendations, before Death hath deprived them of the ſenſe of either: *Envie* that feeds only upon Infirmities, receiving a more favourable audience from the generality than the loudeſt deſert; the progreſs of whoſe *detraction* doth commonly terminate at the Grave; after which ſhe is as intemperate in their praiſe by way of compariſon with thoſe alive, as ſhe was malitious to them at their being here; where none are ſo exact, no not in that very profeſſion, which they have made it the ſtudy of their Lives to be perfect in, but that in ſome things they lie open to reproof, as I could inſtance in that *courſe* you have choſen, where many taken for Tutors, would not have been thought worth the following were they now in being (as their Contemporaries know) who had the true ſmack of the *portage* before the *Coloquintida* was corrected by the *Earth*, the Womb of Forgetfulneſs ſome

wanting

wanting *Elocution*, others *Confidence*, and many owners of theſe, *Moderation:* it lying in the power of a fooliſh Cuſtom or Geſture to render the moſt able ridiculous; Mens Eyes, no leſs than their Judgments being blind towards themſelves: For though the *Client* loves him that ſpeaks much and loud, the *Court* favours thoſe are modeſt and pertinent. This I tell you, that you ſhould not take all for current Gold you ſee gliſtering in Opinion, nor all for droſs and counterfeit, which hath not had the fortune to receive the impreſs of her approbation.

34. Before I came to have leiſure to obſerve them, I thought *Princes* and *Miniſters of State* ſomething above humane; Not hearing a word fall from them, upon which I did not put a politick conſtruction: But growing more familiar with them, I found their Diſcourſes mingled with the ſame *Folies*, ours are; and their domeſtical affairs carried on with as little, if not leſs diſcretion ſometimes than ordinary mens.

35. He that ſeeks *perfection on earth*, leaves nothing new for the Saints to find in Heaven: For whileſt Men teach, there will be miſtakes in Divinity; and as long as no other govern, Errors in the State: Therefore be not licoriſh after *Change*, leſt you muddy your preſent felicity with a future greater, and more-ſharp inconvenience.

36. Thoſe that impute their *good ſucceſs* to *Chance*, or rather *Providence* (unto which none can be too liberal) ſince every thing proceeds

ceeds from it) rebate the point of *Envy* far more than ſuch as father them upon their own *Wiſdom* or *Valour*, in which many pretend an ample ſhare, that may eaſily be brought to confeſs themſelves exceeded in *Luck*. And moſt men are willing to imploy or follow his Conduct that lies under the high eſteem of a *Favourite to Fortune*; who are ever acceptable in the Courts of Princes, becauſe they create more hope than jealouſie; All being apter to reverence and love, than malign ſuch as they think operate under the favourable aſpect of the omnipotent *God*: which opinion attained, it breeds no leſs confidence in Friends than it ſtrikes terrour into Enemies.

37. As I would have you primarily intend ſtopping of the Leaks in your own Bottom, if *called to the Helm* (from which in Free States none are exempt) ſo you muſt by no means neglect the repairing the broken fortunes of others found to be of *excellent parts*, who if not made friends by preferment, may prove dangerous to a New-founded State; Neither are *preferments* ſo ſcarce, or theſe ſo numerous, but that there is proviſion enough for them in theſe three Nations: I confeſs Queen *Elizabeth* moſt happy in this, which preſerved her from Civil Wars: whoſe Foundations are commonly laid by Artificers too ſubtile to be diſcovered: Flames, as in Hay or Straw, may be kindled in the more combuſtible People, by ſuch Foxes as ſhall appear rather to carry water, then Fire-brands; Nothing in experience

science being found more mortal than an unseasonable Commendation from an eloquent Tongue, or a forced compliance from a discontented Politician. The *Consistory* and *Jesuites* maintain throughout the World the Traffique of Sedition and privy Conspiracie, yet have had so much wit, as to land it in *Presbyterian* bottoms, and to cover their disobedience to Governours under the attempts of the *Anabaptists*, that naturally acknowledge none. The Truth is, if wise men will make it their business, they may be easily able, where the people are unsetled, to obstruct all good, and promote much evil, under the specious pretences of *Religion* and *Safety*: Therefore far cheaper pleased than discontented; being otherwise in true policie, capable of no slighter security than shall be able to cut off all hope or desire of future revenge: The consideration of which, though it cannot make me altogether approve, yet it abates my severity in the condemnation of that Legislator, said to have writ his Laws in blood, which might be more suitable to the complexion of some Times, than may possibly hitherto have been thought.

38. The like may be imagined of *men proscribed*, who between thirst of revenge, and a desire of returning, do not seldom promote their Countries ruine. This also may authorize their Tenets, that hold *punishing Children* with the loss of Goods *for their Fathers Crimes*, as dangerous as unjust. And under this Head may be reduced all *Pœnal Laws*, laid upon faults

faults not really prejudicial to the State: Nor can a too rigid ſcrutiny, either after perſonal lapſes in Manners, or uncouth Tenets in Religion, produce any good effects to a Commonwealth where no *Inquiſition* is, which under the Papacie draws the Envy wholly upon the Church, made incapable not only by Cuſtom, but an awful Reverence of all revenge.

39. Another errour may happen (eſpecially where a Free State is founded in Arms) by conceding too great a power to the *Souldiery*; who, like the ſpirits of Conjurers, do oftentimes tear their Maſters and Raiſers in pieces, for want of other Imployment. Therefore ſince it is beyond the plenty of any Nation to proportion a Reward ſutable to the opinion they have of their own merit, it behoves the Supream Power to bury their Covetouſneſs and Ambition in the Fields of others by a Foreign War, yet as little to their diſcontent as may be; always giving them the honour of good Servants, though bad Maſters: remembring that the Cauſe you raiſed them for, is not ſo deep buried, but it may riſe again to the terrour of all that withſtand it.

40. Neither can *the Clergy* be rendred with leſs danger, Deſpicable than Great; both theſe extreams equally croſſing the ways of Peace: yet more ſafety poſſibly may accrue from eſtating them in ſo comfortable a competency, as the loſing of it may create fear, than ſuch a Power as they have in other Nations, found by experience to produce pride and ambition, beſides an encroachment on the Peoples Liberty,

berty, whoſe natures they are uſed to warp towards any ſide, by the hope and terrour they raiſe in their conſciences in relation to another World; the exploding of which belief would be no leſs diminution to the reverence of the Civil Magiſtrate, than the profit of the Prieſthood.

ADVICE

ADVICE TO A SON.

V. RELIGION.

1. READ *the Book of God* with reverence, and in things doubtful take fixation from the *Authority* of the *Church*, which cannot be arraigned of a damnable errour, without queſtioning that truth, which hath proclaimed her proof againſt *the gates of Hell*. This makes me wiſh that our *Samſons in ſucceſs*, who have ſtript her of her Ornaments (Riches, Powers, and Honours, which the ancient piety left her to cover her Nakedneſs withal) and given them to vain Expounders of Riddles, may not one day have cauſe to repent, when they find themſelves annoyed, no leſs than the eyes of Truth put out by the duſt and rubbiſh the fall of ſo great and antique a Frame is likely to make. Therefore be content to ſee your Judgment wade, rather than ſwim in *the ſenſe of the Scriptures*: becauſe our deep plungers have been often obſerved to bring up ſandy Aſſertions, and their heads wrapt about with the venemous weeds of Errour and Schiſm; which may for the preſent diſcountenance the endeavours of modeſter Learning, yet will,

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no doubt, ſink and vaniſh, after ſome time and experience had of their frequent miſtakes, as thoſe of our bold Expoſitors of the *Revelation* have moſt ſhamefully done.

For if *Brightman*, known by my ſelf pious and learned, could be ſo *out* in his Calculations for the Popes fall, as to the time; What encouragement remains for you to perplex your ſtudies or expectation, when thoſe Hieroglyphical *Obſcurities* ſhall be performed?

2. The prudent *Conſiſtory* finding the leſs zealous, yet more prying Judgments of theſe Times too full of caution, ſuſpition, &c. to credit *New Miracles*, have forbidden the predication of more, without licenſe from thoſe who are too cautelous for the paſſing of any, not at leaſt in ſemblance, proof againſt Detection; leaving them for the reſt to the large ſtock, Time and Cuſtom (the Vouchers of many a Lie) have conveyed to them from their Anceſtors better cultivated Ignorance and Credulity: which may with far greater reaſon adviſe us to a more tender and honourable eſteem of the ſacred Books of the *Prophet Daniel* and the *Apocalyps*, than to ſuffer them ſtill, like *Whittingtons* Bells, to ring the Advancement or Knell of thoſe at the Helm. *Comines* having noted it as a blemiſh in the people of *England* to meaſure their Hopes and Fears by phanatick preſages: The conſequence of which is in the future likely to prove as fatal to the *Lay* power, as they have formerly been to the *Eccleſiaſtical*: ſo as our Governours, if they tender Religion or their own

ſafety, muſt hang the Lock of *Reſtraint* againſt theſe bold *Interpretations*: ſince the Seal thoſe Books retain, ſtrengthened with the dreadful comminations of the Holy Spirit, are not ſufficient to ſtay the Ages preſumption: who from among theſe *Hieroglyphicks* pick out ſuch *Cogniſances* as beſt ſuit their deſigns, not ſo eaſily brought about, as by a miſ-led zeal in the rabble: and after they have fixed them on thoſe that ſtand in the way of their advancement, they like *Diana*, ſet their own people upon them. Nor can a *reſtriction* put upon our peepers into ſuch *Myſteries*, be any more obſtruction to the Divine Truths they contain (not legible by any light, the knowledge of men hath hitherto attained) than it was ſloth or ſin in the *Ægyptians*, not to follow their Callings till the three days darkneſs was over, or their abſtinence from water a contempt of Gods bleſſing, after it was by *Moſes* converted into Blood, and become the Sanctuary for venomous Frogs. This makes me think a Proſecution of the *Oriental Tongues* (beyond an ability to underſtand them) is like Muſick or Fencing, unable to requite the time they conſume: *Hebrew* being obſerved to grow for the moſt part in Soils apter to produce *Roots* than *Flowers*: Yet ſo luxurious in the variety of Readings and ſignifications, as it amazeth the Wiſe, and precipitates the Ignorant and Factious into no leſs deep than deſtructive Enthuſiaſms.

3. He may be leſs Prudent, if not Religious, who ſtrains at a Gnat, contrary to the ſtomach of

of the *Church* he lives in, than such as swallow greater things, owned by her *universal consent*: For he that herds with the Congregation, though in an Errour, hath *Obedience* to stand by him, whereas a Truth in the other may be rendred more peccant through a solitary obstinacy: since it is ordinary with the holy Spirit to register such Kings for good, as had not quite expunged all marks of Idolatry, though possibly in their power to have done it, which a private person cannot but want, having nothing but Arguments to oppose, blunted through prejudice arising from a contrary practice.

4. Despise not *a profession of Holiness*, because it may be true; But have a care how you trust it, for fear it should be false: The Coat of Christ being more in fashion than his Practice; *Many Pulpit men, like Physitians, forbidding their Patients that, you may ordinarily find on their own trenchers.*

5. *Hypocrisie*, though looked upon by the Church (the Spouse of Christ) as a gaudy and painted Adultéress, yet if she passeth undiscovered, the result is not so dangerous as that of open Prophaneness: Therefore shun all occasions of *scandal*, which commonly arise from *drink*, whose Followers have their lapses scored on every wall.

6. *Criticisms* and *curious Questions in School Divinity* may whet the Wit, but are detected for dulling the edge of Faith, and were never famous for Edification; and though looked upon in these last Centuries as the right

hand of Learning, yet better cut off than uſed as they have long ſerved, for weapons of contention: Deviſed to puzle the Laity, and render the Clergy no leſs neceſſary than honourable: Who have work enough cut out for them till Dooms-day, to reſolve which is leaſt ſuitable to the Divine Eſſence, To have bound the hands of men, or left them at liberty. By this a conſtraint muſt needs be put upon us, or our Maker, &c. which conſidered renders it the more ſtrange why School-men paſs for Saints, and *Arminians* in ſome Judgments for &c.

7. I can approve of none for *Magiſterial Divinity*, but that which is found floting in the unqueſtioned ſenſe of the Scriptures: Therefore when caſt upon a place that ſeems equally inclined to different Opinions, I would adviſe to count it as Bowlers do, for *dead* to the preſent underſtanding; and not to torture the Text by meaſuring every nicety, but rather turn to one more plain, referring to that all diſputes; without knocking one hard place againſt another, as they have done ſince this iron Age, till an unquenchable fire of Contention is kindled, and ſo many jarring and uncertain ſounds of Religion heard, as men ſtand amazed, not knowing which to follow, all pretending to be in the right, as if it were poſſible for Truth to contradict her ſelf.

8. I grant the *Socinians* are not at this time unworthily looked upon, as the moſt Chymical and Rational part of our many Diviſions; Yet going contrary to the antient *Canons of the Church*,

Church, (esteemed in the School of the Fathers, the best Grammar of a Christians Creed) and wanting the principal Buttresses of Prescription, Universality and Consent, to uphold the Convenience, and justifie the truth of their Doctrine, I cannot award them so much approbation as they seem in reason to plead for: Yet are so far confident, that if just proof can be made of their adulterating the faith of Antiquity, few Professions extant can justly take up *the first stone* against them, who upon a conscientious scrutinie, may possibly appear equally culpable: However, such as call them *Arians*, do not think they honour them with a former universal Consent, *Athanasius* only excepted: And other less probable Opinions may learn this candor and Charity from them, not to bar Heaven Gates against all Professions but their own; or, like our Retailers of new Lights, pull Passengers into their Preaching houses by the sleeves, as if all wanted Religion but themselves.

9. And as the *Socinian Doctrine* appears too aery, high and Mercurial for ordinary capacities, whose understandings are usually consumed, like *Jupiters* Mistress, in the splendid Commerce of such sublime speculations; So the *Roman* is too Earthy and Saturnine, participating of the dross of Merit, Images, Indulgences, &c. Which convinceth Her of so much worldly respect, as she stands condemned by all, but such as are betrayed to her Devotion through Ignorance, Profit, or Honour, on the one hand, or chained to her obedience by the iron Inquisition on the other.

10 Yet

10. Yet were not *Purgatory*, with the reſt of the Romiſh Goblins, obtruded as Articles of Faith, I ſhould be leſs ſcandalized at them; in hope by accident they might occaſion good: Finding humane Nature ſo childiſh, as to be ſooner ſcared, than perſwaded out of the dark Enteries of Sin: the real Rod not being ſo terrible in the hand of the Magiſtrate as theſe Phantaſms, which Tradition and the Prieſts ſubtility hath formed in the peoples Brains.

11. But in concluſion, you will find *the Reformation* moſt conformable to the duty we owe to God, and the Magiſtrate; if not too phlegmatick in paſſing by decent Ceremonies, or too cholerick and rigid in obtruding upon weak and tender Conſciences.

12. And yet it was no unhappy rencounter in him that ſaid, *A good Religion might be compoſed out of the Papiſts* Charity, *the Puritans* words, *and the Proteſtants* Faith: For where *works* are thought too chargeable, outward *profeſſion* too combeſom, the *third* renders it ſelf ſuſpected: The two firſt being only palpable to ſenſe and reaſon ſtand firm like a rock; whereas the other ſhakes under the weight of every Phanſie, as *Peter* did when he walked upon the Sea: To ſpeak *Engliſh*, In *good works* none can be deceived but the Doer, in valuing them too high; in the two latter all but God, who only knows the heart.

13. I confeſs the *Millenaries* are of ſo jovial a Creed, as I could be content it ſtood with the will of God, I might herd with them; who,

who, if not approved, I do not find condemned by any Council, at least for the first 300 years.

14. But for the vagabond *Schismatick*, he is so fiery, as he cannot last long unconsumed, being ready upon the least advantage to melt all into sedition; not sparing to burn the fingers of Government longer than they shower down Offices and Preferments upon him; whining for a Sanctity here, God never yet trusted out of Heaven: Therefore uncapable of quiet, but under a severe Restraint, or an absolute Liberty.

15. And our new *Levelling Opinions*, though they seem to transcribe their Authority, from the no less inimitable than miraculous Practice of the Primitive times, stand (if taken at the farthest extent) in so diametrical an Opposition to all humane felicity, as not likely to proceed from the Lord of Order: Being, if lights, in such dark Lanthorns, as rob humane Society of all reward, and consequently, endeavour of desert: Yet the Owners, though unconstant in their new ways, pronounce it damnable to keep the old.

16. It is observable in the present humour, that those who carry an Impress of the *wildest errours*, have a safer Pasport to travel by, and a nearer step to Preferment than such as retain the Tenets our Fathers kept in gross during the flames of the ancient Persecutions, and by retail under the Modern: making the honour of that Doctrine scandalous, for which our Ancestors were not ashamed to die; who

are by this rendred the worſt of Murderers, as having through obſtinacy, been guilty of their own Death.

17. Will not ſuch proceedings incline to *Anarchy?* and that proving loathſom to all, make room for the old or ſome more acceptable Family, if not for Conqueſt by a foreign Nation? Becauſe people lying uneaſily, are apt to ſuch tumblings and changes, as cannot but at laſt bring them under a Power, ſtrong enough to conſtrain, or cunning enough to perſwade them, with a pretence of holineſs and righteouſneſs, to a mutual compliance, in relation to a change of Government. Of the firſt there are multitudes of examples throughout all prophane Hiſtories; of the latter few but ſacred, where the Jews under *Moſes* being led by the miraculous hand of God, are not capable to be comprized under the erring Axioms of humane Policie. As for *Mahumet* he rolled on his untutored rabble, by mixing Profit and Rapine with his Religion, which he left uncertain, grounding his precepts upon ſucceſs, ever owned as dropped upon them out of Heaven; making himſelf ſtill confident of the event, which I cannot undertake; therefore unable in theſe Aporetick times, to give you better counſel, than to *keep your complyance ſo looſe*, as, if poſſible, you may fix it to the beſt advantage of your profit and honour.

18. Nevertheleſs, though a high palpable and external *Zeal* is taken, by the preſent Age, as a mark of Confidence, yet I cannot look upon

upon it with ſuch affection, becauſe ſcrewed up to theſe altitudes in many, by the wooden pins of worldly reſpects; Not likely to hold longer in tune, than a Harmony can be made among all Parties, now poſſibly at odds, or under a jealous aſpect: Therefore I adviſe you to put no more of it on, than with decency you may deveſt, in caſe the faſhion ſhould alter, and the rich die the Wars have dipt it in, be rubbed off; ſince all cuſtoms riſe or fall proportionable to the exchange they make for the Preferments in the State; to which in diſcretion you are bound to ſuit your Obedience, though not your Conſcience. For I would have my perſwaſions underſtood to reach only to what is conſonant to Religion; which doth not bind you to choak your fortunes with the Criticiſms of ſuch Poſtillers of the Age, as value their Interpretations of Scripture above Liberty or Life. And by this overweaning, one Century makes Martyrs of thoſe the precedent thought Hereticks, and ſuch Liberators of their Country, as were formerly held Traitors.

19. Keep then your *Conſcience* tender, but not ſo raw, as to wince and kick at all you underſtand not; nor let it baffle your Wit out of the bounds of Diſcretion, as ſuch do that ſuffer themſelves to be moved by it. To prevent which, keep *Reaſon* always in your eye; whoſe light ought never to be loſt in any worldly action, and but eclipſed in what relates to Heaven: The Tribunal of *Conſcience* being erected in our Soul, to detect our miſ-

carriages,

carriages, not to betray our well-being, and therefore ſubordinate not only to a ſuperlative Authority, but alſo our own honeſt, ſafe, and wholſom conveniences. Neither is *Conſcience* ſeldom miſled by Education, Cuſtom and the falſe repreſentations of Teachers, who benighted in the dark Intereſts of Covetouſneſs and Ambition, ſeek to lodge others under the roof of ſuch Inſtitutes as they believe not themſelves, yet employ all their Art, Sufficiency and Endeavour, to make them paſs for authentick, and the pure mind of God; like Juglers, that beguile our ſenſes with what is not, to have the better opportunity to pick our pockets of what is really uſeful to themſelves: For as the more ſubtile wind got into the narrow and delicate parts of our body, is able to act the Stone, Gout, and other moſt acute diſeaſes, not really preſent. So doth *Superſtition* repreſent in this changeable and concave glaſs of a ſuborned *Conſcience*, things for ſinful, that are indeed but natural and indifferent; and other pious, that are really vain and deſtructive: The proſecution of which leads readily to Atheiſm, or an over-biaſſed Holineſs, which proſecutes all that carry the impreſs of any contrary Tenets.

2o. Fly that ſelf-murdering Tyrant *Obſtinacie*, who, like our Witches, is not ſeldom, found to pamper the Imps of Hereſie with her own blood: being not only now, but from all Antiquity, able to bring clouds of witneſſes to the ſtake, for the proof of the wildeſt Opinions. And, if I am not much miſtaken, from the

the reverberation of her heat, the flames of the ancient Perſecutions, as well as thoſe that followed, were at leaſt increaſed, if not kindled.

21. All Religions but ours, are accounted idolatrous; and *Idolatry* is a miſpriſion of the true *Worſhip*, in lieu of which ſome other is intruded upon belief, more catching to ſenſe and auſpicious to Legiſlators Deſigns, than that purer reverence due only to the honour and perfect will of God: before which it is very ordinary with unſanctified *Politicians* to interject ſuch falſe *mediums* as may flatter or terrifie their ſubjects into an awful Obedience of themſelves and their Laws. Therefore, ſince nothing in *external Worſhip* can be performed but in ſome poſture, or after this or that *manner*, which Unity and Time will ſoon make general, and ſo concoct what was formerly indifferent, into a religious *Ceremony*; by which, *Superſtition* if not *Idolatry*, hath ſtole into the *Roman Church*; who by impoſing a neceſſity upon what was at firſt poſſibly a miſtake, or a meer extravagancy, have bred ſuch a reverence in their people towards things proceeding perhaps from no higher inſpiration than the breath of Authority, that they expect no ſalvation without them; which fond over-weaning may juſtly bring many laudable *Cuſtoms*, derived to us from an unqueſtioned ancient *Tradition*, into the ſame predicament the *Brazen Serpent* fell, when by the *Jews* it was abuſed to Idolatry: which, though a *Type* of our Saviour, was it ſelf without

without question lawfully *disfigured*: This makes me confess, that though I honour ancient *Tradition* with the highest——, I cannot be of that spirit to *contest* for her (or against her) *unto blood*; But do rather believe the cruel Contention begun between the *Greek* and *Latine Churches*, about the time of *Easter*, resulted from Ambition more than Piety, as may appear by the unhappy consequences of that strife. This may perswade to a *Conformity* with such Governments, as shall explode former modes used in the external worship of God: the Question *Who required these things at your hands?* may one day prove as hard to resolve, and cause no less astonishment than fell upon him interrogated, *How camest thou in hither, not having a wedding Garment?* understood of endowments far more essential to salvation, than any humane Constitutions can be.

22. As it is manifest, that most *Princes* and men in power (the not unlikeliest to know Truth, because it is suspected they did at first disguise it) make no more account of *Religion*, than the Profit and Conveniencie it brings, is able to compense; So the the unbiassed *Rabble*, if once emancipated out of the Fetters, their former Creed confined them to, value the *Church*, as they do the old Coins they dig up, which they take for Counters, because they find them subject to rust, and are not able by reason of their *Roman* Inscriptions (*the Character of the Beast*, which opinion rather than judgment imagines them branded withal) to

to make them pass in the strict commerce of these intoxicated times: whereby they exchange that for baser metal, which in it self perhaps is pure Gold, only attached unhappily by the Cankers and Corruption of age, easier scoured off than melted.

23. But if St. *Peter's* pretended Successor, the Pope, be found guilty of such erroneous mistakes, it cannot be so much a Solœcism in Reason with our *Seekers* to place St. *Thomas* in the Chair; believing, like him, no more than lies patent to humane understanding, which is as much as can decently be imposed upon a new Believer without a Miracle: *Reason* being all the Touchstone besides left in our hands, to distinguish this Gold from the dross, they pretend our Religion hath contracted. *The Scripture* alone seeming unable, by reason of her divers Readings, and the several sounds, variety of Expositions have put upon it, to decide all differences; Besides the long abode she hath made at *Rome* (where who knows whether or no, or how far that Bishop hath put in his foot?) may render her in some opinions, suspected, as participating of the like Corruptions, we see manifested in Translations: So as it may possibly be wished, Learning had never taken her out of the hands of *Tradition*: where for many years she remained with more quiet than ever she enjoyed since she grew domestical with all sorts of understandings, who have been connived at by the State (how prudently I dare not determine) whilest

whilest they cut her more short, or extended her longer, as best fitted their ends and occasions. Now if Faith be not allowed to be taken implicitly from the Authority of any Church, a freedom of choice, by consequence will result to all, by which Salvation must be wrought out: And in this wilderness of contention we have no better guide to follow than *Reason*, found the same for many thousands of years; though *Belief* hath been observed to vary every Age. And since so considerable a fallhood is thought to be discovered by our Governours, in the Clergies Tenet, for the *impunity of Kings*; why may not their poor Subjects be unsatisfied about the Place they shall receive their own Reward or punishment in after this Life; or what else may befal these dusty Bodies of ours? Yet I say not this to diminish your Faith, but to encrease your Charity towards *tender Consciences*, who may pretend cause enough to doubt, Though my single Judgment is still ready to determine for *Antiquity*: which I would have you reverence, but not conclude infallible; yet I should take her word sooner in *Divinity* than any other *Learning*, because that is clearest at the beginning, all Studies else more muddy, receiving clarification from experience.

All truth familiar unto mortals is only legible by the eye of *Reason*: *Revelation*, *Prophesie*, &c. being strangers now to flesh, and ever too high elevated for the perpetual commerce of such weak Creatures, who may sometimes enjoy a glimmering of them, as the

Not

Northern Inhabitants do of the Sun in Winter, not permanent longer than they are able to fan away the dark Clouds of infidelity, which dims their Light upon the abſence of the Extaſie: Whereas *Reaſon* paſſeth in an univerſal commerce being of an unqueſtioned allay, and therefore likelieſt to be the Oracles of the everliving *God*; ſaid by *Solomon* to have *ſquared the barrs of the Earth by her rule*, and ſo not improbably ſuppoſed to have meaſured out a way to Heaven by her Line. St. *Paul* allows the notice of Gods univerſal Goodneſs for a ſufficient evidence to convince the diſobedient Heathen; and may not the ſame as well ſave the faithful obſervers of the purer Law of Nature? ſhall the righteous Judge of all things be found with two weights, one to ſave, another to damn by? *Reaſon* only commands belief, all things elſe beg it, ſo far as the moſt ſtupendious *Miracles* that ever were, cannot confute, though 'tis poſſible they may ſilence it for a time; But *Belief* changeth, and impairing or mending implies a wearing out imperfections *Reaſon* is uncapable of, remaining the ſame for ever as the moſt faithful guide to our Maker.

24. It is no leſs worth your obſervance than admiration, that ſome of the wild *Indians* and other people by us ſtiled *Barbarous*, are yet more ſtrangers to the unſociable ſins of Improbity, Covetouſneſs, &c. than ſuch as pretend to advance their Converſion: Of which this may be a reaſon, that whileſt they remain conſtant to the pure dictates of Nature, they imagine

imagine no Meditation to secure their hopes, or screen their fears; conceived to depend on another life, but their own Endeavours, which might give *Paul* an occasion to pronounce them *a law to themselves*; and therefore possibly within the compass of Gods secret grace: it being our Saviours own Confession to him that had kept the Commandments, that nothing wanted but the sale of his *Propriety*: a term these understand not, having all in Common, and if the last part be looked upon as omitted, I would fain know who follows his Master best, He that comes loaden with what he is able, and goes as far as he can with him; or else he that hath lost it all, or is lazy and lies down by the way: Acceptance being a far easier grant than Pardon?

25. *Religions* do not naturally *differ* so much in themselves, as fiery and uncharitable men pretend; who do not seldom persecute those of their own Creed, because they profess it in other Terms. Then do not only ask thy *Conscience* what is Truth, but give her full leisure to resolve thee: For he that goes out of the way with her consent, is likelier to find rest, than he that plods on without taking her directions.

Therefore do nothing against the counsel of this Guide, though she is observed in the World to render her Owners obnoxious to the injury and deceipt of all that converse without her: *Nothing being more hard and chargeable to keep than a good Conscience.*

26. Let

26. Let no ſeeming opportunity prevail ſo far upon your *curioſity*, as to entice you to an *inſpection* into your *future fortune*: ſince ſuch *Inquiſitiveneſs* was never anſwered with good ſucceſs: The World, like a Lottery affording multitudes of Croſſes, for one Prize; which reduced all into a ſum muſt by a neceſſary conſequence, render the remainder of life tedious, in removing preſent Felicities, to make room for the contemplation of future Miſeries.

Do not pre-engage *Hope* or *Fear* by a tedious *expectation*, which may leſſen the pleaſure of the firſt, yet cannot but aggravate the weight of the latter, whoſe arrival is commonly with a leſs train of inconveniences than this Harbinger ſtrives to take up room for, *evil Fortune being no leſs inconſtant than good*: Therefore render not thy ſelf giddy, by poring on Deſpair, nor wanton with the contemplation of Hope.

27. Stamp not the Impreſs of a *divine vengeance* upon the Death or Misfortunes of others, though never ſo prodigious; for fear of penning a Satyre againſt your ſelf, in caſe you ſhould fall under the ſame Chance: Many things being taken up as dropped out of an immediate celeſtial Hand, that fell from a no higher pitch than where God in his providence hath placed ſuch Events, as wait upon all times and occaſions, which Prayers and Prudence are not able always to ſhrowd you from: Since upon a ſtrict Enquiry, it may appear, that *in relation to this World, the Godly have as little cauſe to brag, as the Wicked to complain.*

28. Be not eaſily drawn to lay the foul *imputation of Witchcraft* upon any, much leſs to aſſiſt at their *Condemnation*, too common among us; For *who is ſufficient for theſe things*, ſince we are as ignorant in the Benevolences, as Malignities of Nature? *Mad men* preſenting in their Melancholy Extaſies, as prodigious confeſſions and geſtures, as are objected to theſe no leſs infatuated people. And if this humour hath ſo far prevailed with ſome, as to take themſelves for Urinals, Wolves, and what not; Can it ſeem impoſſible for thoſe, invaded by all the cauſes of diſcontent, to imagine themſelves Authors of what they never did? Moſt of theſe ſtrange Miracles they ſuppoſe, being hatched by the heat of imagination, or ſnatched out of the huge Maſs of Contingences, ſuch a multitude of Individuals as the World produceth, cannot chooſe but ſtumble upon; Neither may it be admitted, with due reverence to the Divine Nature. That *Prophefie* ſhould *ceaſe*, and *Witches ſo abound*, as ſeems by their frequent Executions, which makes me think the ſtrongeſt Faſcination is incircled within the *ignorance* of the Judges, *malice* of the Witneſſes, or *ſtupidity* of the poor Parties accuſed.

29. Be not therefore haſty to regiſter all you underſtand not in the black Calender of Hell, as ſome have done the *Weapon ſalve*; paſſing by the cure of the *Kings evil*, altogether as improbable to ſenſe: Neither *raſhly condemn* all you meet with that contradicts the

the common received Opinion; leſt you ſhould remain a Fool upon record, as the *Pope* doth, that anathematized the *Biſhop of Salisburg*, for maintaining *Antipodes*, and the *Conſiſtory*, that may poſſibly attain the ſame honour, for decreeing againſt the probable Opinion of the *Earths Motion*: Since the branding of one *Truth* imports more diſrepute than the broaching of ten *Errors*: Theſe being only lapſes in the ſearch of new reaſon, without which there can be no addition to knowledge: That, a murdering of it, when by others greater wit and induſtry it is begotten: not to be accounted leſs than an unpardonable ſin againſt the Spirit of Learning. Therefore *mingle Charity with Judgment*, and *temper your Zeal with Diſcretion*, ſo may your own Fame be preſerved, without intrenching upon that of others.

Fall not out with *Charity*, though you find for the moſt part, *Ingratitude* lying at her Gate: which God hath contrived, the better to reſerve requital to himſelf.

30. As he offers an high indignity to the *Divine Nature* that robs God of his honour, by owning thoughts of him unſuitable to the Dictates of Reaſon (the exacteſt Engine we have to meaſure him by, out of the Volume of his Word.) So doth he offend no leſs againſt *Probity* that detains anothers *due*, contrary to Juſtice and the Clamours of his own Conſcience; whereby he makes himſelf and his Poſterity heirs to the Curſe, which the Wheel of Providence, moved by the

breath of God's first *Fiat*, doth usually stamp upon those, that endeavour to deface the impress of Goodness and Equity, which appeared in all things at the beginning. Therefore be not forward to promote any *destructive Tenents*, or liquorish after such *ill gotten estates*, as the Law of power may for a small summ be wooed to possess you of, out of an hope to engage you, or a fear they might revert, in case they were not diffused amongst a multitude of owners.

Make not *Law*, or the *Power* you may possibly exercise in the *Common-wealth*, instrumental to your private Malice: *No murders being so bloody*, as *those committed by the sword of Justice*.

31. Let not the Cheapness or Conveniency of *Church lands* tempt you to their *purchase*: For though, I have not observed vengeance so nimble in this world, as Divines pretend; yet what prudence is there to submit all your future success to be measured out, by so severe Expositions, as *Churchmen* usually make of *Sacriligious Persons*, which all are registred to be that meddle with their *Revenues?* besides the danger and shame of refunding, in case a contrary zeal should repossess the people; whose clamours and warrant cannot be thought less sufficient to obliterate your Title, than the former; written, as may be supposed, with more authentick Ink.

32. Denounce no *enmity* against the *Clergy*: For supported by Prayers or Policy, they

they cannot long want an opportunity to revenge themſelves. Neither *oppoſe* any *Religion* you find *eſtabliſhed*, how ridiculous ſoever you apprehend it; For though like *David*, you may bring unavoidable Arguments to ſtagger a popular error. None but the monſters own Sword, can cut off the head of one univerſally received.

Run not hooting after every *new Light* you may obſerve to wander about, nor endeavour by a tumultuous diſpute to puff it out: For he that will *not quench the ſmoaking flax*, may poſſibly accept of a Lamp compoſed of no richer ſtuff than Ruſhes.

33. Grudge not *Tithes* to the Teachers of the Goſpel, aſſigned for their wages by the divine Legiſlator; Of whoſe inſtitutes this was none of the leaſt profound, That the Tribe of *Levi* were prohibited all other Revenue, than what was deducible out of the tenth part of the other Elevens increaſe: ſetting bounds thereby to all the improvement, their wiſdoms, and the tie the Prieſthood had over the peoples conſciences, might in the future poſſibly make, in cauſing their Maintenance to riſe and fall, proportionable to the general ſtandard of the Nations felicity; which this limitation obliged them to promote, and for their own ſakes, to oppoſe all incroachments likely to interrupt their brethrens utility. This prompts me to believe, that if the like ſalary were aſſigned here, we might promiſe to our ſelves the ſame ſucceſs; Provided the ſovereign Power

reserved in their own hands the collation of *Benefices*, without giving leave to any *Stipendiaries* or *Lecturers*, that signifie little less than an *Anti-clergy*: And to perswade this, there may be more Reason, than the narrow project of this Discourse is able to find room for.

34. Yet I cannot but by the way mind you of the superlative *Wisdom* of *Moses*, who, lest one sacrilegious injury should have proved a precedent for a greater (had the people made a benefit by the spoil) imployed the *Censers* of *Corah* and his Complices to make plates for the *Altar*: But finding the *Gold of Idols* too ranck, decently to be used in the service of God, he reduced them to dust, and threw them into the River: lest the multitude having been fleshed on a *Calf*, a false Deity, should after assume the boldness, to rob the true One, and those his Institutes appointed to live by his service.

35. And here it may not improperly be said, that Cardinal *Wolsey* was ignorant of, or had forgot this Aphorism of Policy, when he pulled down *Monasteries* to build *Colledges*; by which he instructed that docile Tyrant *Henry* the eight to improve the same: There being *nothing forwarder to demolish the results of Zeal and Ignorance than Learning and Knowledge*. Neither did he discover himself a more accomplished Courtier, when he laid the foundation of *Grave* for a living *King*, who could not be delighted with the sight of a *Tomb*, though never so magnificent, having lived

lived in so high a sensuality, as I may doubt, whether he would then have exchanged it for the joys of Heaven it self. I instance in this, as a fit example to dissuade you from thinking it discretion or manners *to use funereous discourses before Princes or men in power*; who hate nothing so much, as the thought of their own Mortality, and therefore unlikely to be pleased with the Messengers of it.

ADVICE

ADVICE TO A SON.

The Concluſion.

1. BEar always a *filial reverence* to *your* dear *Mother*, and *let not her old age*, if ſhe attain it, *ſeem tedious unto you*; Since that little ſhe may keep from you, will be abundantly recompenced, not only by the prayers, but by the tender care ſhe hath, and ever will have of you: Therefore in caſe of my Death (which wearineſs of the world will not ſuffer me to adjourn, ſo much as by a wiſh) do not proportion your reſpect by the mode of other Sons, but to the *greatneſs of her deſert*; beyond requital in relation to us both.

2. Continue in *love* and amity with *your Siſter*, and in caſe of need, *help her* what you are able; Remembring, *you are of a piece*, and *Hers and Yours differ but in name*; which I preſume (upon want of iſſue) will not be denied to be impoſed on any child of hers, you ſhall deſire to take for your own.

3. Let no time expunge his Memory that gave

gave you the first tincture of Erudition: to which he was more invited by Love than Profit, no less than his incomparable Wife: Therefore if God make you able, requite them, and in the mean while register their Names among those you stand most obliged unto.

4. What you *leave* at your *Death*, let it be *without Controversie*: else the Lawyers will be your heirs.

5. Be not solicitous after *Pomp* at my *Burial*, nor use any expensive *funeral Ceremony*; by which, *Mourners, like Crows, devour the Living under pretence of honouring a dead Carcass*: Neither can I apprehend a *Tombstone* to add so great a *weight of Glory* to the dead, as it doth of Charge and trouble to the Living; *None* being so *impertinent wasters*, in my opinion, *as those that build houses for the Dead*: He that lies under the Herse of Heaven is convertible into sweet Herbs and Flowers, that may rest in such bosoms, as would shriek at the ugly bugs, may possibly be found crawling in the Magnificent Tomb of *Henry* the Seventh: which also hinders the variety of such contingent Resurrections as unarched Bodies enjoy, without giving interruption to That, which He that will not again die, hath promised to such as love him and expect his appearing: Besides, that man were better forgotten, who hath nothing of greater moment to Register his Name by than a Grave.

Contest not with such frantick people as deny

deny men the *Burial* formerly called Christian: since unquietness importunes a living Body more than a Ceremony can advantage one that is dead. Neither be too rigid in giving or leaving out the *title of Saint*, before their Names that appear in the Scripture to have been really such: Since the practice in both senses, hath been often abused; the first to an over-esteem of the Creature, the latter to the discouragement of Piety, through a second Martyrdom inflicted upon the repute of those, who laid down all care of the World, if not their lives, for the Gospel. Thus a wise man may convert the most putrid humours to a pious use, or where this falls short of a good Conscience, to eke it out with Patience, a far easier remedy, than a less probable Contention. These and an hundred other Changes ought not to disturb our Rest, who are less interested in what can happen after our death, than in what was extant before our birth, no Books being legible in the dark Grave.

6. Neither can I apprehend such Horrour in *Death*, as some do that render their lives miserable to avoid it, meeting it oftentimes by the same way they take to shun it. *Death* if he may be ghessed at by his elder brother *Sleep*, (born before he was thought on, and fell upon *Adam* ere he fell from his Maker) cannot be so terrible a Messenger, being not without much *Ease*, if not some *Voluptuousness*. Besides, nothing in this World is worth coming from the house-top to fetch it, much less from the *deep Grave furnished with all things, because empty of Desires.* 7. And

7. And concerning a *future Account*, I find the Bill to ſwell rather than ſhrink, by continuance; Or if a ſtronger propenſity to Religion reſides in Age, than Youth (which I wiſh I had no cauſe to doubt of) it relates more to the temperature of the Body, than any improvement of the Mind; and ſo unworthy of any other reward, than what is due to the effects of humane infirmities.

8. To conclude, Let us *ſerve God* with what reverence we are able, and *do* all the *good* we can, making as little unneceſſary work for repentance, as is poſſible: And the mercy of our Heavenly Father ſupply all our Defects in the Son of his Love. *Amen.*

Thus I have left you finiſhed (Dear Son) a a Picture of the World; *in this at leaſt like it, that it is frail and confuſed; being* an Original not a Copy,: *No more foreign help having been imployed in it, than what my own miſerable Experience had imprinted in my Memory. And as you have by trial already found the Truth of ſome of Theſe, ſo I moſt earneſtly beg of you to truſt the reſt, without thruſting your fingers, like a Child, into thoſe flames, in which your Father hath formerly been burnt, and ſo, add by your own purchaſe, to the multitude of inconveniences, he is forced to leave you by inheritance.*

Now *You* are *Taught* to *Live*, there's nothing I
Eſteem worth *Learning* but the way to *Die.*

The End.

AN INDEX

Of the Particulars contained in this

ADVICE TO A SON.

Whereby alſo the Reader may find the *Additions* to this *Impreſſion* (whether whole Paragraphs, or part) noted in a *different Character.*

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The *Stationer* to the *Reader*, Concerning this SECOND PART OF ADVICE TO A SON.

OUr Author, *from whom I formerly presented you with* a Rope of smaller Pearls, *viz.* His Advi-so's thredded in a more coherent and exact method; *doth now offer these* Bigger *ones to your acceptance* single *and* loose; *which as they are in* magnitude, *so may you not unpossibly* rate *them at* a like proportionable value. *Something of* Confusion, *you know, is taken as a Symbol of* Greatness: *But I shall only, in the Authors vindication, pre-acquaint you, That a Piece of this nature will not thereby be of the less* solid advantage *unto* you, *who*

may begin and leave off where you please: These *being, in all hands, like* Cards, *more* delightful, *if not* useful, shuffled, *than in* suits; *through which all sorts may be tempted to* read them over, *and* (so) *not improbably gain a* knowledge *they would never have sought for, but upon such an omission: wherefore whether you consider the whole* Pack, *or do but* draw here and there, *you shall be a* Winner. *And* the Author himself *may have the* more *time to employ upon* somewhat else *in order to* your service, *being freed from the trouble of any* nicer sorting these Aphorisms; *which really considered, is but the* Pedantick part *of the* Writer, *and of* most use, *where there is* least intrinsick worth *in a* Book *to commend it self: The* speciousness *of the* Form *not seldom betraying the* Readers judgment *to the* swallowing *such* sordid *and* refuse Matter, *as would be found but a* gilded Dogs ——— if taken in pieces and throughly examined.

TO

To my dear Brother

WILLIAM DRAPER Esq;

OF

NETHERWORTON

In *Oxfordshire.*

SIR,

SInce it is become a general *custom* to affix before *Books* the *Names* of the *Authors best friends*, I could not without calling in question so manifest a Truth as your *desert*, and running the hazard of being esteemed ungrateful my self, but present you with *what follows:* for which (however it fares) I shall descend no lower in my desires, than that *your Name* may remain as perpetual a *Monument* to my *merit*, as I am confident it will prove of your *goodness* which can never die or be out of credit: whereas *Books* are during one Age *neatly bound* and *choicely preserved*, and the next, condemned to the *basest* of *imployments*. Nor had I ever exposed

my ſelf to the danger of a preſent cenſure, no leſs than a future contempt, but that I gain by *writing a diverſion from diſcontent*, the higheſt felicity my fortune ever gave me leave yet to enjoy: who, notwithſtanding the *cold commendation Authors* find during their *lifes*, ſhall venture ſo far on the conſtancy of my own *fortune* (which ſome are pleaſed to call *deſert*) and the Worlds judgment, as to peep abroad again upon my ſingle ſecurity, without ſo much as deſiring your *protection*, though a frequent Petition in ſuch like *Epiſtles*, or borrowing *commendations* from my *Acquaintance*, more ready to lend me their good word, than I was ever yet able to deſerve it, which doth not ſeldom betray the *Reader* into the purchaſe of an *ill Book*; or at beſt, gratifies his expectation no more than a baſe and rotten *Inn* can a *Traveller*, becauſe *prefaced* by a gawdy *Sign-poſt*. *All I beg* is, that in caſe it comes ſhort of *former applauſe*, you would conſider *me*, not your *ſelf*, as the party abuſed. And not weigh *your acceptance* or *my will to ſerve you* at the common Beam, but by the Standard of your *love*, in which you have ſo far exceeded thoſe of my own *blood*, as I cannot but acknowledge you, and ſubſcribe my ſelf

Your moſt affectionate Brother

Francis Osborn.

TO THE

READERS.

Did all your Heads *own a like* Mode *and* Figure, *they could not but be fitted with* ſomething *here might give the* Buyer *ſatisfaction for the price of the Book: but you are found in the generality, ſo contrary to the* Camelion (*a true Emblem of* Hypocriſie, Levity, *and* Sophiſticaton) *as not to take the* colour *for what you judge, from the tincture of* Senſe *and* Reaſon, *but the* py'd *and* contaminated conſtructions *fuming from brains ſuborned out of* Intereſt, *or a contrary practice to condemn of* Errour, Ignorance, *or* Irreligion, *all things though never ſo modeſtly propoſed, that ſuit not with their* breeding, *or fall not within the narrow circle of their* underſtanding. *An unſociable Lunacy that lies as far below my notice, as Fortune, which hath already advanced me (maugre ſuch contrary endeavours) in the opinions of ſublimer Spirits, not only beyond an ordinary* eſteem, but the

the higheſt I could ever be tempted *to carry of my ſelf. Wherefore though I have formerly numbred it amongſt the the loweſt impertinencies, to fore-ſtall a* Readers acceptance *by any other Courtſhip than the choiceſt* endeavour *to give him plenary* ſatisfaction: *yet I cannot think it ſuitable with* gratitude *to paſs* unregarded *ſo much as hath already been ſhewn, or to doubt of the like in future: not to be done without calling in queſtion the* conſtancy, *if not the* Judgment *of a* conſiderable part of the Nation. *And from hence, and no* merit *of my own, I do implore this favour, that in caſe any have formerly, or may hereafter be led into* ſcandal *through a* ſiniſter conſtruction *of what I have* written, *as diſſonant from the* Church of England (*though a queſtion I find, if relating to any it is rather to others conſciences, than mine own*) *you would excuſe, or paſs it over as an accidental* Lapſe, *or, which I hope is truer, a meer* miſtake, *rather ariſing from a too high preſumption on the* Readers Charity, *than any real defect in mine own; who ever thought it a* leſs impiety to limit Reaſon than Faith.

If theſe Aphoriſms (*which I proteſt I picked out of* waſte Papers *long ſince thrown*

thrown by) appear unſuitable to the Times *(perhaps ſooner led through* Enthuſiaſms *than* Theorems) *I own not a* forehead *bold enough to deny it. Nor did I intend that* my Name *or* Merit *ſhould have ever become the* argument of Diſcourſe, *but that I found it unpoſſible* to conceal it: *The* hope *of* which, *and not* oſtentation *drew me firſt to the* Preſs; *as* want *of a more* profitable imployment *tempts me, being made bold through* cuſtom, *to feed it.*

FRANCIS OSBORN.

ADVICE

ADVICE TO A SON.

The Second Part.

THough it may without queſtion be reckoned amongſt *Solomons Common Places* of *Vanity*, yet nothing in this world appears more *Natural* or affects *Imagination* with greater *delight*, than *the hope men have their* names *may extend towards eternity*: the eſſential *cauſe* of the moſt, if not all the *good* and *evil* we find done, by pious *Benefactors* or deſtructive *Tyrants*; whatſoever the *firſt* may pretend in relation to *Religion*, or the *Latter* ſuffer in reference to *Policy*. The *propagation of Fame*, though confeſſed *flatulent Humour*, being hardly to be found abſent from *Fortitude* and *Charity*, or any other *Vertue*, to *Martyrdom* it ſelf. *Glory* being the moſt *acceptable* thing we can *enjoy here*, or *hope for hereafter*; the *aim* both of the *Covetous* and *Prodigal*, the *Valiant* and *Coward*; the one ſeeking to gain it through the *expoſing*, the other by a more wary *preſervation* of his *Life* and Eſtate; *all running* through *contrary ways*, after the gaudy *ball* of *Fame*: which though every one deſires to find his *name* ingraven upon; yet none *outreach* the *The Proem.*

records

records of *Paper*, *writing* being the most *approved retipe*, yet *discovered* against *consuming Oblivion*, which infests the *actions* of the *best* of Princes, and benights those of the *worst*; who do not seldom *owe* their *repute* to strangers. *Wherefore* since there cannot be a more *innocent* and *probable* way to *dilate a remembrance* beyond the *banks* of *Forgetfulness*, than *Books*; why may not I (indebted to none, but my own dear-bought *experience*) be allowed the *Vanity* (if capable of such a title) to *affix* my *name* (since unable to build it a more lasting *Monument*) before *these Papers?* where it may live if *rescued* out of the *over-officious* and *strict* hands of *Contemporaries*, the most *severe censurers* of the *writings* of the *present Age*, who in the absence of other *juster pretences*, will *rather* (than want matter for *Reproof*) with the *Maligners* of the *Prophet Daniel*, pick something to *carp* at, in relation to *God* or the *Magistracy*: Though none are *less hasty* in arraigning the *Lapses of Power*, or remain *more obedient* to the *yoke* of *Government*, than such as know there can be no *safety* or *propriety* without it. Yet many *half-witted men*, presuming on the single warrant of their own *purblind Judgements*, do not only overstride the Opinion of the *Major part* for *number* and *weight*, but the dictates of their own *Conscience*; who cannot but *Know*, if they have any *knowledge* at all, That the *Wisdom*, to which *Solomon perswades* no less than *adorns* with so many *Divine epithetes*, voting it the *companion of the Almighty*, *artificer of nature*, *And without*

whose

whose assistance nothing ever was, or is, of all that hath been made. The director of Angels in the preservation of Man, and *the Tutor of man to all the understanding a Creature is able to comprehend in reference to its Maker,* is thereby *blasphemed* in her *children,* no less than her *King reproached*; as if the *followers* of the *paths* to *Heaven* could be *leaders* to *Hell,* or not rather *Heirs* of the rich *Donative* our blessed *Saviour* gives to all shall *knock* and *seek* at the *gates* of *eternal knowledge*; where no voice is *intelligible* but that of *wisdom,* the *Dialect* of *God.* Nor did I ever yet meet the owner of so *impudent* a *presumption,* amongst all the *recorders of reason,* as durst venture our dull and *callous knowledge* against the *activity* of an *eagle-winged Faith:* but do confess a little claudication in their *understandings,* as *Jacob* found in his *leg,* after a *wrestling with his Maker.* Yet since *Saint Paul* draws the *Bill* of our *Indictment* out of the *Book of Gods universal goodness* (to none legible, but through the light of *Reason*) it cannot but afford cause to magnifie *the eternal mercy* towards *Christians,* in giving them *Faith* to regulate their *works,* and support their *wisdom,* without which it becomes *foolishness to God*; wherefore in no other sense capable of the name of *Knowledge.*

2. *Neglect* or *dissemble* the receipt of an *Injury,* till *Time* measure you out a competent proportion of *Charity* to *forgive,* or so much *power* as may *requite* or *contemn* it: Left you convert into a *Habit* or irreconcileable *Enmity,* such

The precipitate revenge, no prudence.

ſuch *Words* or *Actions* as might not unpoſſible *at firſt*, reſult from no more bitter a Root than *Chance* or *Miſtake* in you both. Wherefore *no prudence* to put *the worſt Conſtruction* on *all you hear or ſee*, As ſuch peeviſh and *Melancholy Conſtitutions* do, who like *Glaſſes* retain in their *Fancies*, as meerly relating to themſelves, the *Reflections* of all things paſs in their *preſence*. For ſince the *Eyes*, *Tongues* and *Looks*, are the *Windows* and *Doors* no leſs than *Interpreters* of the *Hearts of men*, and ſo the *buſineſs* of *wiſdom*, to keep every thing from *breaking out*, *that may be ſafer hid than revealed*: it implies a like *caution* ought to be had in *reference* to That is ſuffered to *enter*. Nor doth the want of a through inſpection into this, ſeldom ſpoil the Affairs of *Princes*, no leſs than meaner men's; who by meaſuring *the perſons will* to *advance* or *depreſs* their *deſigns*, accord to ſuch *hopes* and *fears* as they calculate proportionable to their own former deſert or inconſiderate Opinion of the party, mar their Market, not only through a *too great confidence* to receive at need all the *friendſhip* they have *dearly payed for*, but an *over-jealouſie* of ill from ſuch as they look upon in their apprehenſions as *diſobliged*. The *Exchange* of *Courteſies* or *Injuries*, running *high* or *low*, not according to an exact proportion of *Equity*, but the value, 'tis rated at in the *eſteem of the receiver*. Thus the *Old Earl of Eſſex*, by placing a greater confidence in the *Citizens of London*, where he *ſpent* his *Revenue*, than in *Wales*, from whence he *received* it, *Denudated* himſelf of the moſt probable

probable *protection* the *extremity* of his bad *Fortune* had left him. His *Tenants* and *Friends* being more likely to have proved *cordial* at a *distance* from the *Court*, than those found to gather their *livelihood* under the *shadow* of it; And so more probable to increase, than raise a power first in his favour. Which maturely weighed, proves *the study of Friends*, and *Enemies*, *the most politique and useful employment*.

3. *Despise* no *Enemy*, especially at *Court*: For where *Jealousie* holds the *Scales*, a small *drachm* of *Detraction* will turn the *Beam*. Mens *Lives* no less than *Fortunes* being so *unsteady*, as they lie obnoxious to *blasting* by the breath of far meaner persons than themselves; who making use of all advantages do not rarely bring greater *Strength*, *Wisdom*, and *Innocency* than their own to *destruction*; So as the world hath been abused through an often-repeated *Tradition*, if a *fool of State* did not help to *anticipate* the *Death* of a hopeful *Prince*. And if the indeavours of *Malice* and *Revenge* be thus *Prevalent* in a *Court*, where *Civility* and *Law* pretend at least to command; How prejudicial must the neglect of this caution appear in the *Field* where nothing but *Passion* is obeyed, and all *advantages* conducing to *safety*, allowed in *Prudence*, if not *Honour*? And where *Fortune* to *exercise* the *dominion* she usurps over *Strength*, and *Probability*, suffered a *Dwarf* not long since to kill a *Man*. This makes me admire the *Valour* more than *discretion* of an

No enemy so contemptible, as to be despised.

acquaintance of mine, That met an *armed enemy* in a formal and premeditated *Duel* with a *wooden Dagger* and a *rebated rapier*. I confeſs this *gallant ſoul* did worſt him; which appeared *leſs* becauſe no more than his *contempt* ingaged him to. But if *Chance* (the Lady of ſuch events) had turned her face the *other way*, his *honour* and *prudence*, if not *Life* (*ſeldom ranſomed, if at the mercy of a Coward*) had been loſt in the *Indiſcretion* of the *action*: The *Generality* taking no other *proſpect* of things than through the *Event*: and under this *Topick* may be *included* ſuch as *return a diſarmed Enemy his Sword*, with a number of *follies* more incident to a *Romantique valour*.

To contend with inferiours brings diſcredit.

4. *Have peace with all men*, is as *wholſom* an *Aphoriſm* in *Policy* as *Divinity*. But being uncapable of ſo ſtrict an *Obſervation* as in *Religion* and *Prudence* it deſerves, *Let me adviſe you* to ſhun, or break off all *Conteſts* with much inferiour perſons to your ſelf. And becauſe *Example* receives a more lively *tincture* from *Memory*, than *Precept*, I ſhall inſtance it as a blot in the greateſt *Rochet* that did in my time appear in the *Court of England*, or *indeed* any I ever heard of ſince the *Reformation*: who mannaged a *Quarrel* with *Archy the Kings Fool*, and by *indeavouring* to explode him the *Court*, rendered him at laſt ſo *conſiderable*, by calling the *Prelates Enemies* (which were not a few) to his *reſcue*, as the fellow was not only able to continue the diſpute for divers years, but received ſuch incouragements from ſtanders

ſtanders by, as he hath oft, in my hearing, belched in his face ſuch *miſcarriages* as he was really guilty of, and might, but for this *foul-mouth'd Scot*, have been forgotten: Adding ſuch other *reproaches* of his own, *as the dignity of his calling* and *greatneſs of his parts* could not in *Reaſon* or *Manners* admit; Though ſo far hoodwink'd with *Paſſion*, as not to diſcern that all the *Fool* did was but a Symptom of the *ſtrong* and *inveterate Diſtemper* raiſed long before in the *Hearts* of his *countrymen* againſt *the calling of Biſhops:* Out of whoſe former *ruins* the major part of the *Scottiſh Nobility* had feathered, if not built their *Neſts*. Nor did this too *low-placed Anger* lead him into a leſs *abſurdity*, than an indeavour to bring him into the *Star-Chamber*, till the *Lord Coventry* had, by acquainting him with *the priviledge of a Fool*, ſhown *the ridiculouſneſs of the attempt:* yet not ſatisfied, he, through the mediation of the *Queen*, got him at laſt diſcharged the *Court*; whither he brought after the ſame mind under a *Cloak*, as he had before born in his *Fools Coat*. *Nor* is it more wiſdom for any, *eſpecially Kings*, to drive *baſe people* into the dark corners of *Deſpair*, where they do not only loſe the ſenſe of their own *felicity*, in becoming *Inſtrumental to the Malice and Ambition of others*, but *all duty* and natural reſpect to *Friends*, *Religion*, and *Governours*.

5. *A true Friend* becomes the *fortune* of every *Profeſſion*, but is the moſt neceſſary *Uten-* *A friend neceſſary to a Courtier.*

fil I did ever obſerve belonging to a perſon at *Court:* where eyes are ſo *ſealed up* and *covered* with *prejudice*, *envy*, &c. as little notice is taken of the *higheſt deſert*, till through the *approbation* of a *ſtander-by* they are *pointed to it.* The mode of *Princes* being, *as I have often found*, to reſt better ſatisfied with *others atteſtations*, than *their own.* The cauſe that in *Palaces Merit* is leſs vendible at the *firſt* than *ſecond hand*; *proceeding* commonly from the *Modeſty* of the *party*, which *defect* none but a *faithful friend* is able to ſupply. I could name a couple of *Jeſuits* (no ways miraculous for *parts*, conſidering the foraign advantages received from their *Relations* and *breeding*) who did by making it their buſineſs to *cry up one the other* in all *companies* and upon every *occaſion*, ſwell themſelves to ſuch a repute, as they became in a ſhort time able to benight the apprehenſion of a *Prince* in his own *opinion* no mean *Polititian.*

To oblige a Prince, or ſtate, dangerous.

6. Though it is your *duty* no leſs than *Honour* to have *deſerved well* of *Church* or *State*; Yet it may be no *unſeaſonable advice* (*conſidering how ſoon the beſt of Subjects have their deſert expunged by envy* or *forgetfulneſs, after their uſe is over*) to extend *expectation* beyond the preſent *occaſion:* By which you may have the hope to *continue* your *Princes Favour*, *commonly concluſive where Expectation ceaſeth.* Wherefore *the well Managing of Merit* is none of the weakeſt effects of *Prudence*, becauſe uncapable to be *reſtrained* within *the compaſs of any general rules.*

Signal

Signal actions being not ſeldom ſo huddled up by *Fortune*, as they are in a ſhort time *forgotten* or much *leſſened* by *ſharers* and *envy* before the *principal Operator* is able to make *his beſt market* of them: To whom a *brave atchievement* hath ſometimes proved *fatal*; *Nothing being more terrible in the eyes of Majeſty, than the Apparition of an unrewarded Deſert*; whoſe chiefeſt mediators are *Shame*, *Hope* or *Fear*: wherefore he that keeps not all or one of thoſe for his friend, may expect a *Reward* from *Heaven* ſooner than *Earth*. The old *Earl of Briſtol* was none of the moſt imperfect Scholars in this Leſſon; who, through a *prodigious dexterity*, became the *Confident* of *two Princes*, that drove on, if not contrary, divers Deſigns. And was *at his return* able to appear before the *Engliſh Parliament* where he worſted the greateſt *Minion* the *Folly*, *Love*, or *Wiſdom* of any King ſince the *Conqueſt* ever bred in this *Nation*.

7. I note it as a great *blemiſh*, and ſo much the more deplorable becauſe not ſeldom mingled with the *beſt parts*, *for a man to cry up his own Excellencies*. Through which, though the *ſimple* may be led into *Admiration*, it produceth, from the more *Judicious*, *Contempt* and Envy: Conjuring up a ſeverer *ſcrutiny* into the parties *perſonal Lapſes* and *Natural Imperfections*, than *Prudence* ought to *Alarum*, *A modeſt rate* put by the *owner* upon his peculiar *deſert*, *being the moſt artificial Medium* to *multiply fame*. Though the ſame *Aphoriſms* *Self praiſe great impudence.*

in *Morallity*, no more than thoſe of *Phyſick* are not always found to work the *ſame effects* upon all *Complexions* and *Conſtitutions*: the *contrary* being ordinary through *Ignorance*, or a *Prejudice* ariſing from a *different opinion*. For let the *Speaker* utter never ſo Rational and exact a *Truth*, *Nothing* but what *quadrates* with the *Companies reſpective underſtandings* and *experience*, can ſettle upon him the *Hearers Belief*: Not ſeldom better Gratified with a *probable Lye*, than in the ſerious relation of a more *prodigious Truth*. The *predication* of which is not only an *Incroachment* upon the ſole *Immunity* of *Thrones* and *Pulpits*, But a dangerous *Intruſion* upon the elements of *Civility*; ſo far as ſometimes to produce *Quarrels*, ever *diſputes*: Not in Reaſon to be looked upon, by the *Reporter*, under a modeſter notion than *a return of the Lye*. Nor can ſuch *Improbabilities* at beſt, paſs their *hearers*, without the thoughts of being *ſlighted* by the *Relator*; as owners (in his Opinion) of a *Credulity* capable to to be *deluded*. *And this maturely conſidered* might hang the *Lock* of a greater *reſtraint* upon the *Mouths* of *Travellers*, *Huntſmen*, *Mountebanks*, &c. who to render their *profeſſions* of more *value*, than, if brought to the *Candle*, they might poſſibly appear to be, do *torture* their *Company* with no leſs *Impertinent*, than *Improbable Relations*. And if it were as far warranted by diſcretion, *To name the perſons* that have *ſmutted* their *fame* through a *Breach* of this *Topick*, as it is fit to *avoid* the like *exceſs*, you would bleſs your ſelf to hear the *recital*.

tal of ſo many *brave Spirits*, and ſuch whoſe *deſert* is impregnable againſt the ſtorms of *Time*, which *this quality* hath, to my knowledge, worſted in their *repute*, ſo far as to render them *Ridiculous in Company*: of which I ſhall leave you this one *nameleſs example* of a *Knight*, who uſing to make *Multiplying Glaſſes* of what he in his long and great *Travels* had *Obſerved*, profeſſed he once converſed with a *Hermit* that was, in the Opinion of all men, able to commute any *Metal* into *Gold* with a *ſtone* he kept ſtill hanging at his *Girdle*: and being asked *of what kind it was*, and not readily *Anſwering*, the witty *Lord of Saint Albans* ſtanding by, ſaid he did verily believe, it was a *whetſtone*, &c.

Neither may it be *happily amiſs here*, to diſſwade you from all *immoderate praiſe* or *diſpraiſe* of any *perſon* or *thing* your *experience* or *acquaintance* hath had the *Fortune* to *cope withall*; leſt ſome in *Company*, out of an humour of *Contradiction* (no leſs *frequent*, than *odious* to *Society*) or a *diſaffection*, ſhould aſſume the *contrary Cudgel*, and by that ingage you in an ungrateful *diſpute* or a more deſtructive and ridiculous *Quarrel*: As befell an *Earl* at *Greenwich*, that received ſome prejudice in his *honour* from the *Ma. of Ham.* for crying up the *Civility* of *Spain* higher than that of *England*; which grew at laſt to ſuch *terms*, as might have produced worſe *effects*, had not the *Earls wiſdom* directed him to the *Throne*, &c.

8. Though *Kings*, and Perſons in *Superlative power*, when *looſe* from *ſerious Imployments*, aſſume *To jeſt with Princes not ſafe.*

assume so far the *sociable humours* of Humanity, as *to break out* into *sprightful and facetious extravagancies* with other *Courtiers*; yet ought not this *freedom* to allure them into so *high* and *familiar* a *Presumption*, as to *retaliate* the like again, Since *scorn* or *smart* proportionates not its acceptance to the extent of this *Innocency* and *good meaning* of the Subject that first gave the occasion, but the *Jealousie* of the Prince that received it. Such *accidents* though they may pass *current* during the short time of a *present commerce*, yet do not fail upon *Rumination*, and the *tincture*, *Enemies* are found to give all that may advance their *profit* or *malice*, to change the former superscription of *mirth* and impress of *Love*, into an inveterate *hatred* and thirst for *Revenge*. An *Instance* hereof appears in *William Earl of Penbroke*, *none of the least Obsequious Observers of the times*; who naturally or rather Customarily (since the former may be lyable to question) *abominating a Frog*, had one thrown into his *Neck* by *King James*: And did in requital cause a *Pig* (of an equal *disgust* with the same *Prince*) to be put under his *close-stool*: where though it produced no *extraordinary ill effect for the present*, *it being as usual* a thing with *his Majesty* to be *frighted*, as &c. Yet after the *prank* (*Innocent* enough of it self) had been descanted upon, and the worst of *interpretations* made by some (The title of *Jews* being at that time usually given to the *Scots*) *The King was much affected with it*; and the more, because done at *Wilton* under the *Earls own roof*:

roof; It remaining always a Natural or Uſurped *Prerogative in Princes*, if not of all in power, to *put their particular ſenſe on the words and actions of inferiour perſons.* Wherefore he that relates wholly to the *Honour* or *Friendſhip* of his *Prince*, had need of more *Patience* and *Circumſpection* than doth ordinarily attend a *free birth*, or ſuch as *remain galled* through any foraign *diſcontent* or *Anxiety*, which renders the Patient *tutchy* and *unadviſed.*

9. It is not prudence, through *contrary Counſel*, to *tamper* over-much in the *miſcarriages* of *others*, not relating to your own *Intereſt*, *eſpecially* if abſolutely flown beyond all recovery of *Prevention*: For, though, like *Phyſick*, it may appear *of wholſom Conſequence* for the future, it remains at the preſent of *no good ſavour* to the *Party*: And renders the *ſight* of him it is received from, *ungrateful.* Wherefore with *much caution*, *if at all* to be adminiſtred to *People* of *Quality*: who do not ſeldom, inſtead of *doubling* their own *circumſpection*, only place a ſtricter *watch* upon the *Informer*, in hope *to pay him* in the *ſame Coyn*, never current but amongſt thoſe of *choice* and *candid* natures: *Counſel implying*, in moſt peoples Opinions, *an overpriſing your own Judgement, and debaſing of others.* *Counſel to be given with caution.*

10. It is no leſs violation of *friendſhip*, then *Charity*, to *laugh* when another by accident falls into a *Miſchance*; And hath proved, *in my experience*, the original of many *Quarels*, and *To laugh at a miſchance unchariteable.*

and bred a *ſtrangeneſs* between perſons before very *Intimate* in Affection. Wherefore it ought to be refrained towards people of *mean quality*, leſt *cuſtom* ſhould *render* it more difficult to abſtain from it, if the ſame Fortune becomes the lot of a *greater man* or *dearer acquaintance*. As it fell out at the *new Lodge* by *Barnet*; where after a great Dinner, *King James* walking out, and ſomething *neglected* by ſuch as led him, ſtumbling at a *Mole-hill*, fell down, and managed his *Legs* after ſo ridiculous a poſture as many of the company could not hold from *Laughter*: which his Majeſty took ſo ill, as he called them *Traytors*, and proteſted *Revenge*; nor would he ſuffer any of them to take him up, Till Mr. *John Weſt* the Keeper, at whoſe houſe and charge the *entertainment* was, came, and by *a witty conceit* (of which he was full) fetched them off. Swearing *no good ſubject could refrain to rejoyce at his Majeſties activity, to ſee him ſo nimble, as to come over and over*: Now though this *Buffoonery* did for the preſent ſeem to compound for the real *folly* of the reſt, that had ſeen and forgot many things the *Court* might have learned them; Yet *the King* did *Remember* ſome of them, as no well wiſhers to his continuance in being, but rather inclining to, *&c. To conclude*, if it was thought manners by our *Anceſtors*, not to be covered whilſt another *Sneezed*, it can be no *Charity* of *Diſcretion* to *laugh* when he is likely to *break his Neck*.

To upbraid any with natural defects uncivil

11. It becomes not *Charity* no more than *Diſcretion*

Diſcretion, to *Upbraid* others with ſuch *Imperfections*, as may by *accident* fall to, or accompany People from their *Birth*: No more in the *Owners* power to help, than it lyes in the *Scorners* ability to ſhield his own *perſon* or *iſſue* from falling into a like *Diſaſter*: *None being ſo preciſely happy*, as not ſooner or later, in their *Bodies*, *Minds*, *Families*, or *Eſtates*, to receive ſome *blemiſh*, if not an Ugly *mulct* from the hand of *Fortune*; *to whoſe injuries the beſt men are ſubject during this Life.*

But that which appears the higheſt Injuſtice is *the imputation of Baſtardy*, in no Nation looked upon under ſo great a notion of *Reproach*, as amongſt the *Engliſh*; Though for the moſt part recompenſed with the richeſt *Indowments*. For if a *Fault*, it belongs *ſolely* to the *Parents*; wherefore the leſs diſcernable through what Organ of equity, *any more than an ordinary humane contamination ſhould attach the Child.* Since the ſingle *Security* of a *wife* (of no great validity in other things) is the chief authentick proof we can produce for the *integrity* of theſe we eſteem moſt *Legitimate*. From whence we may learn how to rate their *Malice*, That miſſing of matter conſiderable to traduce *the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, rake in her *Birth* for the *Faults* (if capable to be called ſo) of her *Father*. Forgetting, no ſuch thing as *Baſtardy*, in relation to *plurality of wives* and *Concubines*, can be allowed in Nature, without aſperſing the *Patriarchs* and *People of God.* Wherefore the contrary *Cuſtom* cannot be of validity

Eſpecially with Baſtardy.

validity enough to queſtion the *Deſcent* of a *Prince*, whoſe *poſſeſſion* of the *Crown* is not only ſufficient to create a *Title*, but what *Ceremony* (in all things not diametrically oppoſite to the apparent dictates of God) ſhall be impoſed upon the *Subject*. *Monarchs* themſelves remaining diſcharged and uncapable of limitation by *Cuſtom* or any *Law* that is but meerly *reſpective* to *Decency* and *Order*: ſo as *King James* and his *Son* though the *higheſt Indulgers* of the *Eccleſiaſtical Canons* and *Inſtitutions*, Have often to my knowledge ſo far diſpenſed with the *legal hours* appointed for *Matrimony*, as to exchange them from *Morning* to *Night*: things meerly Complemental vaniſhing in the preſence of the *ſupream Magiſtrate*. Nor was any thing in the moſt rigid opinion wanting to her *Legitimation*, but a *Diſpenſation*, *profeſſed by all Hiſtorians Signed*, *Sealed* and *ſent* into *England*. Now though the *Pope* did retract it, out of reaſon of State, and dread of *Charles the fifth*, whoſe *Aunt Queen Katherine was*, I preſume the *Holy Ghoſt*, under the protection of whom *his Holineſs aſſumes the power of not erring*, *can in no mans Opinion be thought to repent the approving what none but an Impudent Malice is able to queſtion*, *the Lawfulneſs* of *Kings* being in all places left to a greater *Liberty*, than *Subjects* may in a ſtricter Senſe be lyable to. It remaining improbable to conjecture, that *Henry the eighth* ſhould Repudiate ſo virtuous a *Lady* out of a leſs trivial deſire than the obtaining the *Nations quiet*, and prevent *Civil war*; by leaving behind him an *Heir of his body*. But

to

to lay aſide ſuch *bables*; only conſiderable with *Children* and *Fools*, He had the *conſent* of all unintereſted *Divines*, beyond Seas, together with a conſiderable number of the moſt *Learned* in his own Church; from whom there is no natural, if Juſt appeal to any but God, or an *Impartial Council*, a *Phœnix not likely to be found, till* the old *man of ſin* be conſumed, and *Our Saviour* in his own Perſon become *Monarch of the whole Earth.* Thus when the *gall* of *Intereſt* and *Malice* becomes mingled with *Ink*, it doth not only blot and diſfigure the beauty of *Truth*, but the Honour of all Authors that endeavour to maintain it.

12. Some *Families* are noted of a *propenſitie* more to *Follie*, *Luſt*, *Infelicitie*, *Stamering*, *&c.* others to *Beauty*, *Temperance*, *Modeſtie*, *Probitie*, *Hoſpitalitie*, with many reſpective mulcts and benevolencies in nature. The Cauſes of which may be eaſier ſought for, than found amongſt the perfections and blemiſhes of *Anceſtors*. Since the *Belly* being changed upon every *deſcent*, *it remains little probable* the *Burden* ſhould retain the ſame marks from any more occult quality than *Imitation*. As may be gueſſed from an *honourable Familie*, noted for *many Generations* to *Stutter*, and another that retained *a caſt with their eyes*: Both which may in *my opinion* be attributed in more probability to the effects of an *ordinary Commence than any quality inherent in their Nature*.

The iſſues not bearing the marks of their Anceſtors an ill ground of jealouſie.

The

The longer than ordinary succession of *great Lips* observed in the *House of Austria*, cannot appear a Miracle to any that considers they have not, for many Ages *Married* out of *their nearest Kindred.* I note this, not only to guard you from *Jealousie*, the most impertinent Devil Fansie can *be at any time haunted with*: But to prevent falling into the common Error both of the Ancient and Modern *Philosophers*, that ground *Conclusions* upon bare report or at best *single experiments*, which exposeth them to easie Confutations: Manifest in *Pliny*, &c.

The multiplying of Crosses ungodly folkie.

13. If it be the highest *advantage* deducible from the *Study* of *Philosophy*, *Calmly to bear the affronts of Fortune*, how can the depth of their *Indiscretion* be fathomed, that, *absolved from personal causes* of *Discontent*, extract the Spirit of *Anxiety* out of such *remote accidents*, as *Custom*, not *Nature* hath laid in the way of humane *felicitie*, through which we become far more unadvised than *Beasts*. And amongst these may be numbred *the immoderate desire of, and care for Children*; in some so ridiculous and intemperate, as to let *themselves* and their *Families* (of which they are part) to want *all things* for *the present* (the only time we can call ours) out of hope to leave them *something* after their *death*: which doth prove as often *too much* as *too little*. Since through this *excess* (like an over-proportion of *Bias* on a *Bowl*) they are led out of all care for *greater preferment*, or becoming *better* than at first they were *left*: who quite unacquainted

As an immoderate desire of, or care for posterity.

quainted with the *use* of *money*, are as far to seek how to *improve*, as decently to *spend* it. Yet in my apprehension, no *perturbation* bears the marks of a more ridiculous *follie* than lies patent in an impertinent *Jealousie*, in relation to *women*; no more able to ransom their *Repute* out of the hands of *Detraction*, than the *Patient* is to gratifie his *Curiositie* with a pleasanter *Recipe* than an apparent *Detection*. Thus, by snatching up *Negative Evill* we render our selves Insensible of any *positive Good*: Like *Children*, who if dispossest or denied the *gauds* of *others*, will *in a peevish humour* throw away *their own*. Nor are we seldom cast into a *present trouble*, out of the contemplation of *Mischiefs not yet arrived: The things we fear resembling so far those we desire, that for the most part they seem greater* at a *distance, than nearer hand*: From whence the *Mind* may be Judged as crazed and Infirm as the *Body*, and no less affected with vapours. Nor are these *distempers* so frequent in vulgar and *emptie heads*, as those *stuffed* with *Learning*; A meer *Drug*, and in this, like *Rhubarb*, *whose operations are far more effectual upon a slight infusion than taken in the Mass*; not seldom observed rather to *obstruct* than *open* the *Organs* of *Understanding*, which ought not to be *crammed* faster than she is able to *concoct*, nor kept in a *Coop* without taking the prospect of all worldly *experience*; A rude quantity of *Intricate notions* being apter to augment *Sail*, than *Ballast*: the major part of *Learning* appearing, like *Diamonds*, richer in *splendor*, than use: And

Impertinent jealousie.

cannot,

cannot, alone, and unassisted by the *conversation* of all sorts of *Professions* measure out the true and Mathematical Latitude of earthly *felicitie*, not prohibited *by*, though bounded *within* the compass of *reason*; In whose absence it is either lost in *excess*, or *smothered* in *restraint*; *flattered* into the first through *Voluptuousness*, and confined to the other by *Law* and *Education*: which makes them to suspect all things *pleasant*, of *Sin*, whereas the contrary is more likely to be *natural*. Since at long running, others more indulged by *Policie*, are found to meet at the *same Market*, or a worse. And to draw us *with more ease* into the *Iron Traps* of *Infelicitie* and *Restraint*, they bait them with the Scraps of a broken *hope* and childish *allurement*, that our *Fathers* were *caught* before us. Yet the wily *Priests*, quite discharged of the Lumber of a *Family*, and all Oppression incident to a *Secular life*, cannot but enjoy the most *felicity*, vainly sought under any but *a free condition*, which all enjoy so far as they are *willing*, or left *able* by others to unconcern themselves of the *world:* which no protection can so totally perform as that of the *Roman Church*, in which like a *Cave* or *Grotto*, such of the *Ecclesiasticks* as are any way *superintendent* over others, are situated under as moderate an aspect during the *Sun-shine* of *prosperity*, as the *storms* of an *adverse fortune*; the *thunders* of *war* (I mean *till this sulphurous age*) seldom breaking out over their *Cells*. *But now* since the blood of the *Saints* together with their *names* are expunged the *Gates* and *Doors* of the *Sanctuary*, *Good works*

works have loſt their *value*, and nothing more in eſteem than *new Opinions*. Wherefore *ſince in the abſence* of a protection from the *Altar*, nothing remains without able to ſecure us quite from the ſenſe of *Oppreſſion*, let us turn our endeavours towards ſuch *remedies* as *Prudence* and *Philoſophy* are found to preſcribe us. And *according to their advice pack up our hopes and fears into as narrow a room as we can poſſibly, by which we ſhall render the Laſt more portable, and the Firſt leſs tedious.* And in reference to this, all *affections* beyond the degrees of a natural and compelled *Neceſſity*, or any thing likely to dilate them, are warily to be avoided, during the *beſt times*, as contrary to *felicity*; and in the *worſt*, as obſtructors of the ways to *evaſion*, The moſt uſeful *knack* belonging to the *Engin* of *Life*.

Patience and moderation moſt neceſſary in humane life.

14. No *vertues* deſerve to be more indulged, both in our ſelves and others, than *Patience* and *Moderation*: The *firſt* being no leſs requiſite to *arm* us againſt the open *Hoſtility* of *Fortune*, than the *other* to *guard* us from the *exceſſes* that do uſually accrue to ſuch as are placed in the gaudy *Pageant* of her favour: and therefore kept in compaſs with the greater difficulty, becauſe bounded by no more foreign or external a *check* than the Party is able to give out of the ſtrength of his own Judgment, prompted by an experience had of her *uncertain carriage*, whereas *ill Luck* (or to ſpeak more Chriſtian) *a ſeeming deſertion of the benignity of Providence*, is rendred much the

more *supportable* through an absolute *Necessity*, and so under an *unavoidable restraint*, rather *imposed* than voluntarily *submitted to*. The rarest president for *Moderation* I ever met with, was the last Bishop of *London*, who extracted by the Chymistry of this *Mountebank Deitie*, and Alembecked through a number of great Mutations, from one of the meanest of *Vicars*, to the highest of *Treasurers*, was in none of them elated above the *Meridian* of the ground he first stood on, or did *debauch* through his miscarriage the dignity of any *place* he passed through: Nor did he suffer with *a more sullen brow*, the breaking of all the *Glasses* this pied *Goddess* had blown in his favour; but did, after the *Curtains* were drawn, and the *Tragedy* acted, without any *visible reluctancy* turn his eyes towards the same Landskip of *Country pleasures*, *he had*, *as it were against his will*, *been taken from*. I have (dear Son) but named him, whom I esteem fit to be placed in your heart for the *best pattern of Moderation* I ever met with; as he might have remained for *patience*, had he not been *eclipsed* through the *far greater sufferings* of a *Person* more *splendid*, and no less *Miraculous* in this Vertue, as none can attest better than this *Prelate*, whose *Patron* he was.

Oeconomicks neglected, the ruine of great families.

15. I find the *Oeconomicks*, though most useful to *Being*, the *least* esteemed with our *Gallants*: Looked upon by some as *trivial*, by others as *dishonourable* and *unbecoming a Masculine Imployment*; yet a total *neglect* of *them* may

may be found in experience the *ruine* of the *greatest Families* in *England*, as *their* more exact prosecution keeps up mens *estates* in *Italy*; where the *Inhabitants* are celebrated as most generally *wise*, and therefore *not unfitly* proposed in this for *an universal pattern*, but where they border too near the confines of *penury* and *baseness*, most unbecoming the *Custom* and *plenty* of *England*; and where, *in this particular* (till the *Sword* received a *Commission* from God to *devour* all things good and *honourable* in the *Land*) our *Noblemen* equalled the *Princes*, and our *King* exceeded in *Hospitalitie* all the *Monarchs* in the known World: And might yet have done more, had the true Elements of *Thrift* been maintained in an equal proportion; by providing all things at the *best* hand, and making use of *Times* and *Seasons*; In which I confess so much as purely belongs to *Housewifry*, ought, if not in *discretion*, yet in reverence to *Custom*, to be left to *women*, provided they own *abilities competent for the imployment*: which is yet sometimes so far contradicted by *Experience*, as the first *leak* of a *Husbands fortune* is found to rise in the *Kitchin*, and such *Rooms* as *a Man of qualitie* cannot decently *visit*. Nor is there a better way *patent* to obviate this falling into a *Hectique*, through such a *dysenterie*, than by an equal *ballancing* all *weekly accounts*; never noted by *wisdom* any more blemish to *Honour* than to know how many *Horses* he keeps in the *Stable*, a place that cannot be denied to be made, by *Use* rather than *Reason*, more becoming

his presence than the *Pastry* or *Larder*, Nor is the *Keeping* of a *regulated expense* (*magnified rather than decried in the highest Courts of wisdom*) Neglected so much out of Scorn as defect. *Fathers*, *especially Rich ones*, being so far to learn themselves what is most fit their *Children* should be taught, as they keep them so long in the *Latine School*, till the time is lapsed most proper for *Reading*, and to make a *perfect Accomptant*: the most necessary part of the *Mathematicks*, and so much as cannot be in any commerce spared. It remaining indubitable, that none *so industrious* as to call himself to a *weekly* or at least an *annual reckoning*, did *ever* through his own default *spend* an *estate*. Whereas the want of this *first rudiment of Thrift*, hath, within the compass of my experience, brought divers to a bit of *Bread*, and demolished the *houses* of the most *ancient Gentry* of *England*. Now if any desire to understand how *our more illiterate Fathers* came to escape this Curse; an Answer lies ready, That the greatest part of their *Revenues* did consist in *provisions* of all sorts, paid punctually at a *day*, and so easily *accompted* for and *remembred*. And this *abundance* they enjoyed, kept them pleased and in *friendship* with their *estates*, wanting neither *Company* nor *respect*; through which they became less liquorish after the *glory* and small *delights* of *London*, and the *Court*: towards which *they did seldom look*, but upon constraint; having never tasted them in *youth*, as now they do, *the only time to contract an affection to any place or thing*.

Arithmetick the most necessary part of Mathematicks.

thing. So as *That* we call the *breeding* of our *Gentry*, is the main Reason of their *undoing*: the glorious *aspects* the *City* affords rendring the more solid *pleasures of the Country* contemptible and distasteful. And thus infatuated, from the hope *of a redemption* by an *Office* or *Wife*, they drop into an *Ocean* of *Debts*, between the *Sylla* and *Carybdis* of a *London* and *Country House*; which for want of *moderating their* expence (a thing *Arithmetick* is the readiest, if not the only means to *Reform*) it becomes no less terrible to look upon in relation to *solitude* and *dilapidations*, than unsafe to abide in, for fear of the *Sheriff*. But however this may prove good counsel to *others*, it is of small concernment to *you*; who I thank God are of another temper and a more *Mathematical Education*.

Great wealth sometimes a snare.

16. *Great wealth* is not seldom the birthright of *Fools*, being for the most part a result of the *Fathers covetousness*: And therefore found more *easie* for such *Heirs* to double, than to *expend* with *honour*, *decency*, and *moderation* so much of it as is fit to be allotted for *Hospitality*, out of vast *revenues*. The most likely reason why the *Families* of *Citizens* are consumed through *Prodigality*, or bear *to posterity* the marks of *baseness*, because unacquainted with the true Elements of *house-keeping*; through an equal mixture and moderate temper of which, *Honor* comes to *be generated in the Opinion of the World*: There appearing as wide a Difference for the most part) betwixt a

Gentleman of *blood*, and one of *Fortune* as lies between the Confines of *Moderation and Exceſs*. From whence *it often chanceth* that *Mechanick wealth* doth become rather a *Misfortune* than a *Bleſſing*, by procuring not only *Diſeaſes*, but bringing *Braves* and *Trapanners* like *Drones* and *Waſps* into the *Houſes* of ſuch ignorant *Gallants*, as by reaſon of a *low breeding* are not able to apprehend what is convenient, or take the true height of their *acquaintance* and an exact ſurvey of what *Company* may with *decencie* and *ſafetie* be kept. From whence we may conclude it eaſier to attain *wealth*, than the *wiſdom* to *ſpend* it without tranſgreſſing the rules of *Moderation*, or falling upon the extremes of *baſeneſs* and *exceſs*.

No relation beſides a Father to be confided in.

17. Sad experience hath, amongſt others, left me this unqueſtioned Legacie, *That no Relation, below a Father, is to be confided in by Younger children.* The fear of having their *Jointure* queſtioned, Obliging a *partialitie* in *Widows* towards their *firſt-born*; a *term* more pernicious to the Major part of *Mankind*, than the deſtruction of it might poſſible prove to the perſecutors and oppreſſors of the Children of God: Theſe *Gypſies* (found commonly Slaves to their Wives or Vices) and performing their task in this World under a richer Canopy of Honour than ſome of their *younger Brethren* ever ſtood near, have, beſides the *cruelties* and unnatural burdens they lay upon them, through their power and a bare deception in *Law*, converted into *ſtubble* the

ſtraw

straw their more charitable *Fathers* left their *brethren* to cover them withal. And for *Uncles* &c. their eyes are so intent upon the splendor of the *House*, as they oversee, out of fear or ambition, all but the *top-branch, commonly the weakest.*

But lest *Interest* should transport me into a general declamation against *the most Noble part of the Nation*, out of a particular experience of the *ill natures of some.* I shall conclude with an advice to put all *younger Children* to such *courses* as may protect them from undoing by the worst of Heirs. It being unlikely the *Laws* of *England* should stand *unbent* in their favour, so long as they remain the *major part* in all *Parliaments*, and have not throughly surveyed the ways to *infelicitie* and *ruine.* And for *Daughters*, they do not seldom prove miserable through *great portions*; which causes *snares* to *be laid for them in every place*; they becoming the lot of *Serving-men*, or *Roysters*: or in case the *old Churl* attains a more *honourable* design, though perhaps less *discreet* (it not being a rarity in Custom to see such *despised*, and their *money* and *estates* spent to feed others more *acceptable*, though less rich.) A Lady thus created out of a *Daughter* (of these ordinary *Insects* Generation) proving in the generality the most despicable animal breathing.

Great portions a snare to Daughters.

18. Nothing is *expunged* with more *difficultie* than the Lines *Custom* and *Education* have formerly drawn in the *credulity* of *Youth*:

The Tyranny of Custom a restraint to the progress of knowledge.

which through a no leſs Indiſcreet than Imperceptible *Inſinuation*, renders all other *uſances* and *Opinions diſtaſtful*, and not ſeldom *Atheiſtical*, belonging to any *Climate* or *Inculcation* but that under which they had the fortune to be born; like *Parrots*, that only *applaud* themſelves, and in the mean time proclaim all others *Fools* or *Knaves*, upon no more authentick *warrant*, than that *they have done it*, and *were taught ſo to do from their Infancie*. A Habit reſembling *Beauty*, which though but *Skin deep*, doth for the moſt part *prevail againſt Reaſon* her ſelf: Taught by the *generality* (as Children do the *Bells*) to comply with the *Fanſie*, and not the *Imagination* to ſubmit to the real ſenſe. Wherefore ſuch *variety of Judgments* can be no *prodigie*, where *Truth and Falſhood* are weighed at ſo *unſteady a Beam*. And if any thing could prove able to make good the advantage aſſerted to be found in *the wiſdom of precedent Ages* above the *preſent*, I ſhould rather ſeek it in the *reſtraint* and *confinement* the Tyranny of *Cuſtom* keeps us under, than any *defect* in *ability*, or *poverty of Nature*; not obſerved to be more *prodigal* in *one Age* than *another*. Though confeſſed ſometimes to make *Wiſdom* and *Judgment* ſo *Itinerant*, as to paſs from place to place; and may not unpoſſibly quit our Horizon, when it ſhall be again *Night* with *us*, and the ſame diſmal *Cloud of Ignorance* Impend *England*, as is now known to hover over thoſe former elegant

gant people of *Greece*. But if the *profit* of ſome, and *fear* of others be ſtill able to manacle the *hands* and *ſhacle the feet* of ſuch as are in purſuit after *Reaſon*, by *confining* them within that narrow compaſs of our *Anceſtors* diſcoveries, how is it likely *this Generation* ſhould equal the former, whoſe *cogitations* were freely *alowed* to expiate in the wide fields of *Philoſophy*, and to implead all things at the bar of *Reaſon*, thought guilty of *falſhood* without giving *ſcandal* or receiving *blame?* Whereas the *Authors* of *theſe times* want not only their *rewards* and *impunity*, but lie under a ſeverer *Cenſure* for vindicating ſome *probable truths*, than *they* were *expoſed* to for all their *miſtakes*: witneſs *Galileus*, &c: To conclude, it is no more ſuitable to Prudence, for a man to *hazard* his *credit* for the *advancement* of others *knowledge*, than 'tis likely to improve *them* or ſatisfie *himſelf* by a bare *repetition* of what hath been ſaid many hundred years ſince, though perhaps never believed till theſe latter and more credulous Ages had rendred it *vendible* under the protection of *Silence* or *Reſtraint*.

The Secrets of State not to be proſtrated to Vulgar.

19. *Moon-eyed Horſes*, whoſe light is ſaid to increaſe or wane ſuitable to the flux or reflux of that *mad Planet*, *Blanch* and *ſtart* more by *Day* than *Night*; not out of any real *deformity* reſiding in the *Object*, but their *Senſe*: which renders them of a far more *pernicious concernment*, *when they are able to lead, than kept under a capacity fit only to follow and*

and obey. And this is not meerly verified by experience in reference to *Schiſmaticks*, and the owners of *Phanatick Opinions* concerning *Religion*, but all *half-witted perſons* elſe *from the Prince in the Throne to the Doctor in the Chair. Lukewarmneſs* being as *Naueſeous* to *Policie* as *Religion*, and as likely to vomit out and defile the old and decent *government* of a *Kingdom* as a *Church.* In miſtaking *Enthuſiaſms* for *Propheſies*, *Memory* for *Conſcience*, and *Anger* for *Zeal*; by none *better underſtood* than the *Romans*, who to draw this popular Monſter from approaching the *Arcana of State*, (not poſſibly to remain always in ſo ſerene a temper, and under ſuch an exact diſcipline as may admit a through inſpection of the Multitude without danger.) They never ceaſed feaſting their *fanſies* at home with *Spectacles of pleaſure* (in ſome of which they placed *Religion*, catching with one bait, both the *profane* and *ſuperſtitious*) and macerating abroad their *Martial humours* at the Conqueſt and expence of the *Barbarians* (as they in a no leſs high than falſe Arrogancy ſtiled all but themſelves) gaining through the *Mediation* of *Stage-Plays* and *Gladiators* the ſame, if not a greater advantage than the *Grand Seignior* draws from a *multitude* of *Wives*, and the unanimous Inculcation of his *Prieſts*: whereas the *Romans* never owned any *Profeſſion* of ſo inſinuating a temper as to cover *Hypocriſie*, nor any *Enthuſiaſms* (yet did all with an unanimous conſent acknowledge *God*) as were ever found to produce *Rebellion*, a ſin recorded by Truth

Stage Plays a good diverſion of the people.

it

it self to be *worse than witchcraft*, and therefore not unpossibly the cause why the *Devil* was so earnest of old with the *Jews*, and *is now so busie* with the *Christians* to make them commit it:

The toleration of contrary opinions dangerous.

It is ordinary with *Custom*, *Education*, and *Ignorance*, the *Three Grand Impostors* of the World, to face the peoples *Consciences* with some specious *pretence*, to *hoot* and *cast stones* at every *Profession*, but what practice hath rendred familiar to themselves; whilest the more intrinsick *knack* of the work intends solely *Honour*, *Profit*, and *Ease* of the *Magistracie*; The *Center*, towards which all things approved of, do by a Natural or Impulsive force, tend. It being unpossible the *Pope*, together with the *Friers*, *&c.* should keep up the price of their *sophisticated wares*, daily uttered, were not the *passage* to *heaven* streightned, and all other *ways* obstructed but through *their Institutes*: of which the *credit* would be much *impared* should the *Protestants* tenets and theirs be thought indifferent. Nor is it more possible for a *Civil Magistrate* to carry the *Scepter* steady, where the winds of *contrary Doctrines* are observed to blow. From whence *it is become* not only the endeavour of *Rome*, but *Reason of State* to maintain those *customs* that appear *useful*, as relating to *Salvation*, and under a no less imperious an injunction than the *Command of God*: yet not able to extend a *punishment* for a *breach* of them, beyond *Death*, the only prerogative of *our Maker*. Nor can *Magistracy in* prudence be blamed for

for promoting all means tending to *unity*, or *Subjects* commended that seek to *disturb* them: who ought rather to conceal all *Opinions* contrary to that *generally confessed*, or remove their persons to *other places* where they find them with more safety indulged, than by divulging them to kindle a contrary *zeal* in the people, which in a small time *converts* into *Hypocrisie*, the demolisher of all things Humane and Divine; being able to promote, under the specious pretence of *the service of God*, the foulest ends *Covetousness*, *Malice*, or *Ambition* were ever found to point at. Wherefore all *distinctions are, or may be hereafter* thought *dangerous* in a State, to the several *Orders* of *Friers*, who though observed to agree amongst themselves, are in sharp contests with other *Covents* and *Fraternities*: so as *Christendom* may be wakened into an Admiration how *his Holiness* should pretend to an *Infallibility*, and not be able to decide *whether our Lady lay under the universal polution*, *or was conceived and born immaculate*. The maintaining and controverting of which hath already wasted *Candle* and *Paper*, and may come one day to *Blood*, as the *Regulars* and *Jesuits* have hardly refrained from. Nor *need we* go to *Rome* for examples in this kind, since the truth of this is confirmed in the *Jars* arising between *Townsmen* and *Scholars*, one Colledge and another; though under the *Institutes* of one and the same *Aristotle* and *Government*: which maturely considered, may serve to put the *best construction* on all we find of use in *Church* or *State*.

21. There

21. There is an *extent* in *Wit*, *Learning*, *Civility*, *Honour*, and all other *Felicities*, no leſs than in *Conqueſt*; which neither *Greece*, *Rome*, *Goth*, *Vandal*, nor any other *Nation*, *Perſon* or *Commonalty* delighting in *virtue*; or *Rapine*, were ever in any Age yet found able to exceed: The Reaſon that many did draw à *Calculation* for the late *Guſtavus King of Swedens Fortune* from the *Lines* of his *ſucceſs*, and the miraculous *dexterity* he uſed before he met with any conſiderable *Oppoſition*; Though not quite diveſted of *ſecond Cauſes*. The leaſt of which did not lie in the *Imperial Imprudence*, *where a demonſtration of a will* to *Inſlave Germany was diſcovered before proviſion was made of a Power likely to effect it*. The Reaſon ſuch as adhered to *Ceſar*, were no leſs *remiſs*, than thoſe that *oppoſed* him, *vigorous* in their *Proſecutions*. But in relation to that is at this time more current in my Fantacy, All *extreams* whether in *virtue* or *Vice* may be reckoned as a *Portent* of the *ruin* of a *people*, and amongſt theſe an exceſs in *Learning* and *Hypocriſie*, the *reſults* of a too *high indulged zeal* are the moſt *Vocal*, and do not ſeldom like *Caſtor* and *Pollux* appear mingled with the ſails upon the change of weather. Though the flames of *Superſtition* are in this more deſtructive than they meerly Natural and *Independent*, on any remoter cauſes than thoſe of *Obedience*, or more ſublimate than humane veſſels are able to contain without breaking into *Enthuſiaſms*, Becauſe found the moſt ordinary *Perſecutors of Shipwrack*. Nor is

Exceſs in any thing, a portent of ruin.

any

any thing likelier to comply with the Cauſes of Ruine in this Nation than the vaſtneſs of *London*, which like the liver of an *Italian Gooſe*, or a *Rotten Sheep*, weighs more than the *whole Nation*, and may not only come in probability *to ſtarve that*, *but ſuffocate it ſelf*.

Affectation a ſign of ſhallowneſs.

22. A *vacuity* may with ſafety be concluded in that *Head*, whoſe *Body* and *Diſcourſe* is filled with too much *Affectation*. Such, through an *overmuch care* about their *Outſide* and *Words*, *proclaim a remiſſneſs* in what relates to the *Mind*; *It remaining equally rare*, to find a *ſtarched and Complemental Man wife*, as *a woman Valiant*: the moſt ſerious *Endeavours* of them both being to *captivate the ignorant Beholders*. And though this may paſs but for a *blemiſh* in *Youth*, it becomes an *Ugly deformity* in *Age*: *aſſerting* their *Opinion* who have formerly thought *Apes* to be of the extraction of *Cham*, or ſome other *By-blow* of *Humane Generation*, by their too near *approaching* towards the nature of *women*: wherefore to be avoided as one of the higheſt exceſſes in *folly*. No *Mode* or *behaviour* appearing ſuitable to all Companies, but what is *Manly*, *Conſtant*, and *Reſolute*: Overmuch *Cringing* and *Complement* appearing in all Judgments, *unforeſtalled by a like cuſtom*, no leſs *impertinent* than *tedious*, as intruding too far on *time* and *better Imployments*. Nor are the *French*, with whom theſe *Mimical geſtures* are moſt in *faſhion*, the better eſteemed amongſt *graver Nations*; who are rather found by reaſon of this

Levity,

Levity, to put a baſer ally upon their greater *excellencies* which thoſe converſant in their *Books* cannot but allow them: Amongſt which you may find reckoned in the number of *extravagancies*, all *Ceremonies* not eſſentially depending on *Civility*.

23. It is a ſaying, no leſs general than true, That *a meer Scholar* becomes, through a *ſingular* and *Pedantick practice*, not far removed from *an abſolute*, *&c.* None being better able to man out and array with a *Motley* and *Piebald carriage* (the *habit* of a *Fool*) than he that hath crouded together an unſorted *rabble* of all *Stuffs* and *Colours*. A rude *maſs of Reading* till it be throughly *fixed* and *concocted* in the *Sun-ſhine* of *Imployment*, becoming like *Atoms* ſo *volatile* and *unſetled*, as *for want* of an equal *mixture* of the more ſolid and neceſſary *Elements* of *Prudence* they *juſtle* and *whirl* up and down, without incorporating any thing but *air*: *occaſioning* through a too great *doſe* of *Mercury*, rather *Palſies* than any *ſteadineſs* in the *Underſtanding*, by rendring it more *bold* than *rational*: Like *children*, who *confident* of their perfect skill in the *Game*, before Experience hath taught them how to *ſhuffle* and *deal* the *Cards*, or lay them down in order, advance little but the *ſcorn* of *Standers by*, to ſee a *Courtier* kept out, and a *mean trump* foiſted in, where the beſt is required: Manifeſt through all they either *ſpeak* or *write*, to their *private Epiſtles*, in which for want of an exact meaſuring *perſons* and *degrees*, they accoſt all to the

A ſole Academick Education renders men pedantick.

the *Butler* and *Landress* in one and the *same Stile*; or if *possibly changed*, it is in more *tedious* and *Impertinent expressions* to *their betters*; in relation to whom *Courtship* requires the most reserved *Brevity* can be found on the outside of *Ambiguous Obscurity*. Nor can this be laid to the charge of *true Learning*, the *Nurse* of *Understanding*. But the *long time* spent before they be *weaned* from the *breasts* of the *Universities*, and put into *Commerce*; the only means of attaining *strength* and *ability* to *Judge* what is fit to be retained, and what to be *neglected*, sutable to the *Course*, Fortune or Necessity hath alotted for a future *subsistence*: unpossibly to be gained under such a *narrow Erudition* as *Cambridge* or *Oxford* affords: which like *Stonage*, the *Pyramids*, and other *Rarities*, may be well worth a *visit*, but not to be made *Habitations* or places of abode. It not *residing* in the power of any *Tutorage* to inculcate a *wisdom* beyond the extent of its own knowledge, and the ability it hath to back its *Rudiments*, by visible *experience*; *one example* prevailing more upon the *Memory*, than *ten Rules*; and one that is for the *present to be seen*, than twenty found in *Old Authors*, *not possible to quadrate with all times and occasions*. Nor is there made general such choice of *Tutors* as are able to distinguish what is fit to be taught to every respective *Pupil*, in relation to his *propensity*, and the future *Employment* he is likely to have in the *State*, but do infuse *one and the same rudiments* into all in general; as if the world had use of no more tooles but one. Which minds me of a laudable and more improving

proving way for knowledge, practiſed in my time by ſome of the *Peerage*, that obtained leave for their *Sons* to ſtand by the *Chair of State*, and hear all the *debates* in the *Houſe of Lords*. And if the ſame *were continued* and ſuffered amongſt the *Commons*, it might be a greater improvement than can be found in obſerving the unmannerly and inſignificant diſtempers in the *Schools*, &c. To which I ſhall only add that Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Pim*, &c. were reſident in all *Parliaments*, their age gave them *opportunity to aſſiſt in*; whoſe higheſt *excellencies*, ſo far as my poor Judgement can extend, lay rather in *timing their deſigns* and *concealing their paſſions*, than in any more prodigious advantage they had of other men. Nor are there any qualities more eſſential than theſe to a *Polititian*, nor leſs Indulged amongſt *Scholars*; who, out of a ſtrong preſumption of *what they have not*, fall into a manifeſt demonſtration of *that they* really want.

An univerſal inſpection into ſciences moſt becoming a Gentleman.

21. It is recorded of *Solomon*, that *God had given him a large Heart*, through which he became univerſally *knowing* from the *moſt deſpicable Herb*, to the higheſt *Ceder*, and deepeſt *Secret* in *Nature* (then) under *knowledge*. Which might ſerve to anſwer their *Curioſity*, who think they have done ſomething towards the confutation of this *aſſertion of his wiſdom*, when they find his *ſayings* parallel'd in other *Authors*: Since it is a ſufficient manifeſtation of *Gods extraordinary Grace* upon

on him, that we assured from his own *writings*, no less than from the testimony of the *Sacred Sciptures*, that part of the whole mass of *Humane Learning* lay included in his Person; and so, if equalled in *one indowment*, he was not exceeded by any single Individual in the *general Knowledge* of *all*. And as this appears by the *Donor*, to be none of the smallest *gifts*, no less than in the estimation of *Solomon* that did ask it, so may we strongly presume that *an universal inspection* is the most becoming quality a *Gentleman* (unfixed in a setled calling) can bestow his *indeavours upon*. And my memory neither doth nor (I believe possible ever can) direct me towards an *example* more spendid in this kind, than the *Lord Bacon Earl* of S. *Albans*, who in all *companies did appear* a good *Proficient*, if not a *Master* in those *Arts* entertained for the Subject of every ones *discourse*. So as I dare maintain, without the least affectation of *Flattery* or *Hyperboly*, That his most *casual talk* deserveth to be *written*, As I have been told his *first* or *foulest Copys* required no great *Labour* to render them competent for the nicest judgments. A high *perfection*, attainable only by *use*, and *treating with every man* in his respective *profession*, and what he was most vers'd in. So as I have heard him entertain a *Country Lord* in the proper *terms* relating to *Hawks* and *Dogs*, And at another time out-Cant a *London Chirurgion*. Thus he did not only *learn* himself, but *gratifie* such as taught him; who looked upon their *Callings* as honoured through *his Notice*. Nor did an easie

falling

falling into *Arguments* (not unjustly taken for a *blemish* in the *most*) appear less than an *ornament* in *Him:* The ears of the hearers receiving more *gratification*, than trouble; And (so) no less *sorry* when he came to *conclude*, than *displeased* with any did *interrupt* him. Now this *general Knowledge* he had in all things, *husbanded by his wit*, and dignifi'd by so *Majestical* a *carriage* he was known to own, struck such an awful *reverence* in those he *question'd*, that they durst not *conceal* the most *intrinsick* part of their *Mysteries* from him, for fear of appearing *Ignorant*, or *Saucy*. All which rendred him no less *Necessary*, than *admirable* at the *Council Table*, where in reference to *Impositions*, *Monopolies*, &c. the meanest *Manufactures* were an usual Argument: And, as I have heard, did in this *Baffle the Earl of Middlesex*, that was born and bred a *Citizen*, &c. Yet without any great (if at all) interrupting his other *Studies*, as is not hard to be Imagined of a quick *Apprehension*, in which he was *Admirable*.

25. It is a wonder to see the publick and private *Libraries* extant almost every where: yet upon an *impartial* search into their worth, Most of the *Books* they contain will appear like *salt* that hath lost its *savour*, fitter for the *Dunghill*, than the *Stalls* they fill; where they abide an unnecessary *Lumber* in the *Houses of Scholars*. The *Ore they afford* not coming to any more *profitable* accompt, after the time required to separate the

Great libraries more for pomp than use.

droſs is reckoned for, beſides a *broken ſtile*, which they do *inſenſibly obtrude* upon the *neateſt wits* and *accuteſt Judgements*, Through the *meanneſs* of their expreſſions and *invalidity* of their *Proofs*, commonly no other than a *vain repetition* of ſuch *Authors Sentences* and *names* as did own the *Thing* or *Opinion* they indeavor at that inſtant to make good. As if it were Reaſon Imperative enough to *lead* us *on*, *becauſe ſuch as they* can be found to have *gone before*: Though God hath made all *Times alike*, and more capable of *Improvement* than *decay*: The contrary of which would redound as *little* to *his Honor*, as *ours*. If the *Languages* now in ordinary uſe, which are but the *Paint* of *Books*, be not ſo *Elegant*, as other *Tongues* more *antient* (a queſtion, that in reference to ſome of our *Neighbour Nations* may admit of a diſputation) whoſe fault is it, but theirs, that inſtead of *Imbelliſhing* do *corrupt* and *adulterate* them quite, by a *dialect* as unſutable to the *underſtandings* as the *Mouths* of the *Inhabitants*: contrary to the uſe of the wiſer *Italian* and *French*, that explode all *words* they find *rough* upon the *pallat*: Abominating no leſs thoſe that ſavour too much of the *Schools*, than ſuch as retain the *Barbariſm* of the *Countrey*: and are by this means able to pick out the *Kernel* in all *Learning*, without the aſſiſtance of any other *tongue* but their Mothers. The Canting terms of *Arts* being natural to them, as they might be in *Engliſh*, But that the *Academies* dare not *permit it*, out of fear to become *Beggars themſelves*.

themſelves. The cure of Ignorance being far more ready and eaſie than our *Empericks* make it, and ſooner obtained through the open air and daily *exerciſe* of *experience*, than the *confinement* to a *Study* under a *ſet form* of *Eruditon*, &c. For my own particular, as *Hiſtory* hath been the *chiefeſt* of my *Imployment*, ſo I ſhall extend no cenſure beyond what I have *found*, which is ſo *little* of *certainty*, as I reſt quite unſatisfied, eſpecially where many do relate to one and the ſame time. A *Cloud of witneſſes* by reaſon of their manifeſt claſhings and contradictions, rather *darkening*, than *cleering* the ways of *truth*: ſo as we cannot credit *Books in matter* of *fact*, farther than they relate to *names*, which is an uſeleſs ſound to thoſe that never did converſe with the *perſons*: Yet are in this ſo far to ſeek, as to leave us divers *founders* for *one* and the ſame *City*, and as many *Citys* for the *Birth* of one and the Same *Man*. The *original* of People, if not *of all things elſe* being rendred as *queſtionable*, as their *wars* and *conqueſts*, which like *ſtories* in *Hangings*, ſhew *fair* and *legible* towards *that Nation* the *Hiſtorian* deſigns to adorn: but if *examined on the other ſide*, there's nothing appears but *ends* and contrary *figures* or *expreſſions*: The *records* of *one Countrey* receiving a ſtrong *Contradiction* from thoſe of the *next*, and if *Authors* be never ſo little numerous, from ſome of *her own*. Wherefore the bright Rays of *honour*, that doth now adorn the heads of *Greece* and *Rome*, have rather reſulted from their *Pens* than their *Swords*, and a *felicity* they had in

Great uncertainty in Hiſtory.

being only able to *Magnifie* themſelves to *Poſterity*: And that *humane relations* intend more the ſatisfaction of *particular Intereſts*, than that of *Truth*; may be gueſſed by any that have but marked the *Occurrences* of our Days, where the ſame *Preſs*, if not the ſame *Pen*, was often found to contradict it ſelf. Nor have we reaſon to Imagine the *Antients* more candid in their *recitements* of *Natural* and *Contingent events*, ſince we find them ſo *Romantick* and *Hyperbolical* in thoſe they took for *Miraculous*, which might not unpoſſibly be no more than *Natural*, though they were unable to aſſign them their *true cauſe*; all Nations being at their *beginning* under as thick a vail of *Ignorance*, as the Innocent *Indians* are found to lie now. Who did *regiſter in their belief*, the *Armed Spaniards* for *Angels*, and the *Prognoſtication* of an *Eclipſe* for a high *propheſie*: So as no Rational man will queſtion, but if theſe people had expel'd by force their *glorious Invaders*, before *true Information* had of their condition, *Tradition* would have delivered them to poſterity in the ſame *Characters* and *ſhapes* their firſt abuſed *Imaginations* had caſt them *in*. Wherefore ſuch *Miraculous Concluſions* relating in *Hiſtory* to reſpective *places*, *Perſons* and *Times* are ſubject to *queſtion*, unleſs *warranted* by a more *Authentick Atteſtation* than what is *Humane*: It being *a certain ſign* of a jugler, *not to be able or willing to do one and the ſame thing often, and in diverſe places, and before ſundry witneſſes*. Nor is the vaſt *difference* almoſt ever where obſervable in *Chronology*, a ſmall obſtructi-

obſtruction to an *Hiſtorical Faith*: it being much eaſier to know the certain *time* when a *battle* was fought, than every *accident* happenable in the *Field*, or *circumſtance* attending a *Miracle*; through which *the firſt* may appear the *leſs honourable*, and *the latter* the *more Natural*. The *effects* of a *Conſiderated Company* and prepared to *deceive*, Lying obnoxious to no other *diſcovery*, than what the *whip* or their own more Ingenious *Confeſſion* hath power to extort. Nor are *Authors*, otherwiſe creditable, barren of unlikely *Productions*, which leave the *verity* of the reſt in *queſtion*; witneſs *Livy*, *Herodotus*, *Joſephus*, &c. amongſt the *Heathen*, without reckoning *Euſebius*, *Socrates*, and other *writers* relating to the *Church*: The which whoſoever Reads, may find cauſe enough to think they took up moſt of the *wonders recorded* by them upon the *credit* of ſuch *reporters*, as might, not unpoſſibly, have abuſed *them* as much, as they are found the *miſleaders* of *Poſterity*. Wherefore *Hiſtorians* ought not to be over luxurious in their Narrations of *Improbable things*, but rather to imitate the *Candor* of the *Jew* formerly mentioned, who leaves his *Reader* to a *free* choice of that he thinks fit to reject or receive, in his *Hiſtory* of the *people of God*.

For, though the *atteſtation* of *ſo many Pens* may authorize a *belief*, that there was once *ſuch a Man* as *Alexander*: Yet double their number would hardly perſwade a *Prudent Reader*, that he *Conquered the whole world*, or that *he perfumed all places with his ſweat*, together with the *old wives tales* written of *Bucephalus*, in

which *he* appears little leſs *rational*, than *themſelves*. And this we *carefully hoard up*, with a huge maſs of *waſte paper*, which contains no richer *Legacy* than that of our *Forefathers Ignorance* and *Credulity*. Yet a Generation is ſtill in being, that do not only *plead the cauſes* of ſuch *Improbabilities*, but *Anathematize* for *Infidels* all that cannot admit them a room *in poſſibility*: Not conſidering, that as ſtrong a *deluſion* might darken the apprehenſions of thoſe that *convey'd* them to us, as doth yet appear in ſuch, that (notwithſtanding our *clearer light*) keep them ſtill in *credit* with the world. Now if it be not a *Prodigy* to find *Belief* abuſed in *Groſs*, as it was when two *Armys* were *routed*, the one by an *Hoſt* of *Thiſtles*, the other through the *duſt* of a *Drove* of *Cattle* coming to *Victual the Camp*, why may we not Imagine a far greater *paucity* of *witneſſes* lyable to a like *faſcination? a few* being more *obnoxious* to *deception*, than *Many*; *Fear* having, in all Ages, retained a power to ſtamp upon the *Fantaſy* what *Figures* ſhe pleaſes. This may adviſe you not to follow *Hiſtory* beyond the *Pillars* of *Poſſibility*: No more than to count *Controverſie* binding, but *where ſhe leaves no room for Reply*.

Iron of greater uſe than gold, and manufacture than learning.

26. *Iron* is of more *uſe* to *Man*, than *Gold*, though ordinary for *pride* to *rate it* and *Jewels* at a higher price; The greateſt *Riches of Princes* conſiſting in that which (like *Honour*) is no other ways beneficial to *commerce*, but as it is priſed by *Opinion*: So *Labour* and *Manufactures* have been, in all

Happy

Happy Commonwealths, *looked upon* as far more *Neceſſary*, than *Learning*. Under the notion of which all things deſerved no better title, than thoſe of *Splendid Impertinencies*, that do not bring a reall advantage to *Commerce*. Heretofore *neglected* in *England*, as it is yet in other places; where through an *exceſs* of *Eccleſiaſticks* the Church becomes more *Populous* than the *temporalty*: whoſe *wealth* and *Splendor* cannot long be wanting to raiſe ſo great a Cloud of *Jealouſie*, and *covetouſneſs* in the *Lay power*, as they may not *unpoſſibly* be *Immerged* in *Envy* and *Confuſion*, the *Cords* or *Ligaments* of *Religion* having been, in theſe latter Ages, much *ſlaked* no leſs than *enervated* through *Diſputations*, and the immenſe *charge* the *Laity* are; through their *Incroachments*, daily expoſed to. Suſable to a *Story* of wiſe *Gondamor*, who urged by *King James* to relate the *intrinſick* cauſe of the *D.* of *Lerma*'s declenſion, from the moſt potent *Favourite* his Catholick Majeſty ever rais'd, to a *condition* ſo *deplorable*, as little if any thing was left, beſides a *Cardinals Cap*, able to ſhrowd his head from the, *&c.* Made him this Metaphorical Parable, *That two* Rats *having tempted their Fortune in purſuit* of Livelihood *and* honour, *fell upon a* houſe *of no leſs* receipt, *than* plenty *of all* Proviſions; *where for many years they lived in the greateſt* ſenſuality *their wills or wiſhes could prompt them to deſire: Till overcome by an* ambitious *thirſt of* advancing *together with* themſelves, *all could pretend to their* Alliance *or* Friendſhip, *ſo much* ſpoil *was committed, as did Alarum the whole* Family,

mily, *and they becoming thus Numerous, had* Traps *and* Poiſon *laid for them in every place.* The like diſaſter may not *impoſſibly* impend ſuch *Academies* as teach meer ſpeculative and uſeleſs conjectures, not capable of fixation under any *Theories*, which with *Hawking* and *Hunting*, may better become the Gentry, than the *Sons* of the *Menu*; whoſe *heads*, like drink, it doth Intoxicate with *flatulent* and *inſignificant vapors*, for want of *money* and *means* to eſtate them in *experience*: without which, *Learning*, is of no more advantage to the *Profeſſor*, than a *Pearl* to a *Dunghill-Cock*, or a *Ring* in a *Swines Snout*: *wiſdom* being a *Lady* of too high a *ſtrain* for any *baſe Converſe*, or *Idle Company*; it being far more *natural* for good parts to plot miſchief than ſtand ſtill. From whence I conclude, that all receiving benefit from any *Foundation*, ſhould be tied to follow ſome *calling* or other, and not to live upon a bare hope an *Univerſity* may in time advance them to.

Learning makes men famous.

27. Such a *poetical Perſecution* as *Ovid* raiſed againſt *Cadmus*, the Founder of *Letters* (feigned by him to have put the *Gods* and *Men* into a *Diſaray*) may *admit* of a *Moral* equal with an *Hiſtorical* no leſs than *experimented Truth*: Since a too univerſally dilated *Learning* hath been found upon trial, in all Ages, no faſt friend either to *policy* or *Religion*; being no leſs ready to *diſcover Blemiſhes* in the *one*, than *Incongruities* in the *other*. *Sophiſters* like the *Cantons* of the *Swiſs*, becoming willing upon the leaſt apprehenſion

of

of *advantage*, to plant the ſame *Engins* and *weapons* againſt the *wrong ſide* as the *right*, And not ſeldom with as good *ſucceſs*. Moſt of the *Heriticks*, Anathematized of old, having been obſerved to lay the foundation of their *Schiſms* in *diſcontent* for the loſs of ſome *Church Preferment* denied them from *their own*, or to gain a greater offered by ſome *other*. Thus we ſee that *Riches* and *Honour* have ever been and will ſtill continue, the *corner-ſtones* of the *Devils Chappel*: wherefore moſt *men*, no leſs than *places* render themſelves obnoxious to the brand of *Hypocriſie*, where *theſe* are found *too earneſtly proſecuted*: not poſſible to be avoided, but by affording the *Clergy* ſo much *honour* and *riches*, as may guard them from *contempt* and the opinion of *covetouſneſs*, (which are meer reſults of *neceſſity*) and too mean a rate ſo high a *Calling*, and uſeful both to *this life* and *a better* no leſs than all ſorts of *Governours*, is ſet at; though not able to *ſubſiſt* without them, or be *victorious*. The *Trumpets* not proving ſo prevalent before *Aye* in the hands of the *Souldiers*, as the poor deſpicable *Rams-horns* blown by the Prieſts.

28. Do not through a *too rigid and obſtinate Obſervation*, convert *Virtue* into *Vice*, or render it more *unſociable*, than in *Reaſon*, *Nature* and *Civility* it ought to be: As ſuch blunt and ill Tutor'd people often are *found to do*, who, to wave *Flattery*, fall into *Incivility*, and to avoid *Pride*, into *Baſeneſs*. *Religion* no leſs than *Honour* admiting

admiting a general and politick *Complyance* with all *Humours* ſo far as *Manners* extend. It having been the guiſe both of *Prophets* and *Patriarchs*, rather to *ſweeten* with a *complacential carriage*, than *exaſperate* through a *reproof* ſuch as they knew out of the *Pale of the Church*: *Truth* not being at all times *in caſe* to be *ſhown* without the *ornaments* of *Courteſhip*, nor people in a condition to *entertain it*. *Tough* and *downright humours* gaining more *favour* from *Plebeans*, than *Perſons of quality*; the *Markets-place*, than the *Court*, towards which it is no leſs *Lawful* than *expedient* to turn your eyes in all things meerly indifferent, as *the higheſt promoter of Honour*.

Moderation and compliance deliver out of greateſt dangers.

29. When you find your ſelf *ſtrike* upon the *Rock* of *danger*, or *Moored* in an *Inconvenience*, caſt *Obſtinacy over board*, And call *Wiſdom* to the *Helm*; which, with the help of *Moderation* and *Complyance*, do always keep an *Errour* from *growing worſe*, if not *expunge* it quite. Nor doth the want of theſe *applications* ſeldom cauſe *Fools* to make *ſhipwrack* of all; whilſt *Prudence* by *tacking about* and recovering *Wind* and *Tide*, doth at worſt but *leſſen their Fraight*. To conclude, *wilfulneſs*, like *Jonas*, *raiſeth ſtorms* and contrary *billows*, againſt all *perſons* and *Fortunes* where ever it commands.

30. Though taken in the world for *an Honour To be conſtant to your firſt Poſt*: Yet in caſe of *Weakneſs*, *Conviction*, or *Defect*, it may be

be no *Imprudence*, any more than a mark of *Levity to desert it*. All *Assurances*, to that of a *voluntary*, and so the most *Sacred Oath*, being bounded within the compass of things *Possible*: of which *Wisdom* doth ordinarily make *Probability* the Judge; yet in my Opinion not *Infallible* but in the company of *Conscience*: who should be an imperfect *witness*, could she not as justly *acquit* as *condemn*: And with whose *consent* it is no more crime to *change*, than to *follow* your *Guide*, or become less *foolish* and *intemperate* upon the sight of a *Mischief*, than before *experience* had marked it for such. *Self preservation* being *the first and strongest Principle in Nature*; And so not to be neglected but upon the score of *God's honour or vindication of an unquestionable Truth*.

To be the stirrup of another's preferment dangerous.

31. It is not always safe, to be found a *step*, by which an other hath mounted himself into the unsteady *Chariot* of *honour*: lest his *foot slipping* your *fall* should become a necessary *consequence* of *his*, or *prove so* foul in the opinion of such enemies as new beginners do ordinarily contract, as will render you irreconcileable to *the other side*, which may not *improbably* prove no less auspicious to you and your Fortunes. *Ingratitude* remaining not only useful, but necessary to those in power: Upon the *Contemplation* of *Policy* no less than *Thrift*: *untried Gamesters* being ever in most credit with such as have a *new Game* to play. Nor is it usual with men after their *assumption* into *dignity* to hate those did place them there.

32. More

Annual Magistracies too short for great reformations.

32. More *Prudence is* required in the Administration of a *temporary* or *annual power*, than one of longer continuance: because an *over-remissness* is as likely to question his repute amongst *Strangers*, as too *rigid a prosecution* to abate his estimation in relation to his *Friends*. For though such a *time* may be *long* enough to *produce errours*, it is far too *short* to perfect a *Reformation*. Wherefore no bad advice, to follow all *Patterns*, that appear *Indifferent*, though none of the *best*, and such *paths* as are beaten by *experience*, rather than seek *new*: as I have known many to the loss of themselves and their *fame*, when they came to mingle again amongst the *Society*, and were reduced to an equal *parity* with the rest. For he that is really able to *mend* a *Government*, will *undoubtedly be more advised* than to perplex so *short* a *Magistracy* with what there can be no room found to bring about, but by *exposing* the *Jurisdiction*, no less than your own *Credit* to a dearer experiment and greater hazard than a *Reformation* (never quadrating with all *Interests*) is *at the best* able to give caution for. From whence it may be concluded *greater Prudence to follow than lead:* Yet under such a Management as no hand may appear to act above board but your *own*. Not to wade farther in this *shallow Honour*, which whosoever carrys under an *elated Neck*, cannot but appear to own a *narrow Heart*, no less than a *mean Birth* and *sordid Education:* And so a *year* may be *too long* (for such a *Beast to abide in Honour*) whereas a Man of

of desert cannot but think the time too short for to produce any considerable *change* either in *matter* or *Form*: Though I could Instance many that have lost more *Reputation* and *friends* during an *Annual Preferment*, than they were ever after able to regain.

whose discourse or Countenance betrays their mind, unfit for Embassadors.

33. All *Complexions* and *Natures* are not competent for to be imploy'd as *Embassadours*: some lying at *too open a Guard* in their *Discourse*; a fault incident to *free people* and persons not bred under *restraint*. Others, of a *faculty retentive enough* in relation to *Taciturnity*, are not able to keep the *intentions* of their *Hearts* from flying into their *Looks* (*which* by the way a *publick Minister is to regard more than words*) Masters of their *Tongues* being not seldom betray'd to a full *discovery* by their *Blood*; which the *shame* of *Lying* or some one *passion* or other *pumps* up, for want it may be of an *Impudence*, none, but those *wickedly bred* from their *Cradle*, are capable of. The reason *Swarthy persons* and people bordering upon the *Sun* are more apt for *Negotiation*, than the *Ruddy English*; Famed for *Fine Force*, rather than *Circumvention the business of an Embassadour*. Nor shall posterity befriend *Truth*, if they think it any great Hyperboly in those that maintain what *Gondamor* the *Spanish Agent* writ unto his *Prince*, which was, That *King James his most intrinsick desires were Legible in his Countenance*. Wherefore his manner was, first to *disturb* his

his *Paſſions*, and after to *appeaſe* them by ſome facetious *Drollery*, before he imbarked himſelf in what he intended to make the Imployment of the preſent *Audience*: Being, in my *Opinion*, a more perfect *pattern* for all *Miniſters* of *State* (which *in little* ought to practiſe what *Machiavel* adviſeth *in groſs*) than *Cæſar Borgia* preſcribed for the *Mirror of Princes*: who out of *Deſign*, or not *provided of better*, did uſually in his private *viſits*, and *Audiences* with *King James* ſpeak *falſe Latine*; For which he had ſuch dexterous *evaſions*, as *his Majeſty* could by no means make ſo good uſe of what was *more congruous*. It remaining always in his power to alter the *Times* and *Caſes* of his *words*, an *advantage* no *Interpreter* could *poſſibly afford*. Nor can Indeavour be miſpent in making a farther inſpection into *the Life of this incomparable Agent*, which I confeſs my ſelf unable to do: Though, in my *own* vindication, I can ſay he was *Tall*, as I have obſerved a number to be in theſe days very *wiſe*, and on the contrary, *not many Fools*, *of an extraordinary ſtature*: By which is given a *real confutation* to that *common error*, no ways authorized from any Reaſon or Experience, That *the Faculties of the mind cannot be ſo active in vaſt bodies, as little*; provided they be not ſuffocated by *Fat*, but, like *His*, *ſtreight* and *meager*. Though I have found *Subtilty*, which is *a more baſe and ſly kind of wiſdom*, very frequent in *ſmall* and *crooked bodies*, which the *proper people* do, in a greater *gallantry* of Nature, ſcorn. *Gondamor* did, in all *companies* as well as the *Kings*,

Kings, incline more to *Mirth*, than *Melancholly*; chooſing rather to *conceal*, than demonſtrate the *Wiſdom* and *Arts* by which he brought about *his Maſters Deſigns*; no leſs to the *ſhame* of the *Engliſh*, &c. than *honour*, of his own *dexterity*: Who was much wronged at his return into *Spain*, if he made uſe of all the *advantages his Nations Prudence* and *our remiſneſs* afforded him. But to what my knowledge was more perfect in, he had *ſo quick a wit* as he was able to vindicate himſelf in his greateſt *Imperfections*; Not wanting Spirit to tell *King James*, when he upbraided him with his *Latine*, That *he himſelf ſpake like a* Prince, *free and unconfined, his Majeſty like a* Grammarian, *as if afraid of the Ferula*. Yet the *excellency* of *his parts*, could not ſhroud him from the *Spaniſh Ingratitude*, which for many Ages hath been obſerved to *impend* the *greateſt deſert*: for after the *Prince of Wales* ſafe *return*, whoſe *reſtraint* he did in the *opinion* of the *Conde Olivares* too *ſtrongly oppoſe*, he fell into *diſgrace*, and was, with his *Son*, moſt Cruelly *caſt by*; Being, if a *Papiſt*, no rigid one, as may appear by many of his *Stories*: amongſt which this is one, he told upon ſome queſtion he was asked concerning *Interceſſion*. *The Picture of* our Lady *being obſerved to weep*, (an ordinary deceit uſed by the *Fryers* to wring money from the Ignorant) *the Neighbourhood where it happened became much troubled, as eſteeming it a bad Omen for the future: Nor were the Church-men backward to foment this fear, Though ſtrongly oppoſed by an exceeding old man in the Village, that*

did maintain it was unlikely to be so; Who upon this was convented, and did as stifly before the Fathers of the Inquisition *justifie what he formerly had said: And being by them demanded how he came to be so well acquainted with* the Mother of God, *he repli'd, he knew every inch of her, as having been then the Prentise of the Joyner that set her up; And by his appointment had bored a hole in her back-side with his biggest Auger, a hand deep: From whence he concluded, that if ever she could have wept, it would have been then.*

To end with *Embassadours*; where I began, it is an *Imployment* more suitable to the *Prudence* than *Candor* of a *free Spirit*; conformable to an *excuse* of an *Honourable Person*: I did once know, who chosen to this *Office*, rather in relation to the greatness of his *Estate*, than *Love of the King*; answered, *he could not undertake it without ruining his Majestys affairs, for want of Impudence, and his own, through the greatness of the expense.*

Nature endows no individual with all perfection.

34. Such as are exact Observers of the proceedings of *Nature*, find her not so bountiful in her *distributions*, as to accumulate all her *rich indowments* on *one* and the *same Individual*: So as many can *write well*, who *by reason* of too great a confluence of *words* and *Matter*, or for want of *Confidence*, (through which their *tongues*, no less than their other *Organs*, become *shackled* and *Paralytick*,) are rendred *unintelligible*, and so *Impertinent Speakers*; whereas *others*, owning no mean *perfection* in *both these*, appear upon

trial

trial no body at *Transaction*, The higheſt effect of *Prudence*: Though the *two firſt* for the moſt part run away with the *Applauſe*; Becauſe the latter is a *milder temper*, and not ſo able to *rant* out her own *commendations*, yet deſerves beſt to be indulged by *Princes*, as being indeed the greateſt *rarity* in this *Northern Climates*, not yet famed for much excellency in *Negotiation*: For want of which and *ſecrecy* (*the Seal of Policy*) great affairs have miſcarried in my time, Though under the conduct of Perſons in other capacities not unuſeful, eſpecially thoſe of *writing* and *Speaking*, qualities yet more apt to *raiſe broils*, than able to *compoſe* them: which is indeed an *Imployment* for more *ſteady heads*, and ſuch as from their Child-hood, have learned to *Barter* and *conteſt*.

35. Though to *write* and *ſpeak* intelligible to the *weakeſt capacity*, be very commendable, Yet a *Miniſter of State* ought to be able, by making ſuch *Parentheſes in his Art*, and leaving out *Points*, *Comma*'s, &c. to render the *Senſe Ambiguous*, where the fartheſt extent of benefit or loſs in a *Negotiation* cannot yet be perfectly *Diſcovered*, upon which a *denial*, *excuſe*, or farther *debate* may be made uſe of: not ſo eaſily done in a *Tongue* univerſally underſtood as *Latine* ſeems to be. The ordinary imploying of which in all or the moſt things treated about, amongſt *Neighbours*, may help to diſcover a reaſon, why *England*, and all other *Nations* eſteemed *North*, are ſo frequently over-reached by *Spain*, *Italy*, *France*, &c.

Miniſters of State ought ſome time to render their ſenſe ambiguous.

That own Inhabitants far wiſer than to be aſhamed of, or to diſavow their Native *Idiom through a pride they take in being perfect Maſters* of one more foraign. Yet upon their drawing towards a *Concluſion*, they may yield ſo far to Equity, as to chooſe *Latin* for the moſt *Indifferent*, and ſubject to the leaſt miſtakes. Nor can I, being fallen on the Art of *writing*, think it any great Impertinency to note, that the *illneſs* of your *ink*, or the frequent taking up *hairs* with a *Pen*, may put a man out of the road of his former ſenſe and Line of *Invention*: wherefore *That* ought to be *fluent*, and *This good*.

Good cloaths commend a Traveller.

33. It is no bad Counſel for a *Traveler* to appear in his *beſt equipage* upon every remove to a *new place*; eſpecially if he hath no better *recommendation* than his *own* to procure his *welcom*, commonly ſuitable to the *Opinion* people do at firſt ſight apprehend of his *worth*, the beſt *aſſurance* they conceive of honeſt *payment*, which perſons *meanly habited* give ſmall caution for; and therefore rarely admitted to a convenient *Lodging* or good and cheap *Penſion* or *Diet*. A *new commer* having nothing to render him acceptable, or to advance him in the worlds eſtimation, but a *gentile Garb* and *decent Habit*: *yet under this adviſe*, that it be not *Clinckant* or *Rich*, ſince *Gold lace*, *Rings* or *Jewels*, hath not ſeldom rendred Travellers the prey of *Braves* and *Muderers*. Beſides, an over high *Oſtentation* puts an *Exciſe* on all things you *want* or are forced to *buy*. Nor is this Counſel the leſs to be eſteemed, becauſe borrowed

borrowed from a *Scot* whose usual custom is to shroud themselves under the title of *English*: And if owners of any *Merchandise*, they take up the *best Houses* they can get, by which *they* gain *credit*, though their *Landlord* doth not seldom loose his *Rent*. Wherefore no *honor*, *Profit* or *Safety* to be known an *owner* of *their acquaintance*, Lest you fall into a repute no ways suitable to a *Gentleman*, who by *just dealing* may gain in a short time from all, so great a *confidence*, as may render himself secure, and what he wants, supplied at the best hand.

37. *Kings* have their *station*, no less than *Motions* in *slippery Places*, And had need of *good eyes*: wherefore if their own be weak, it behoves them to be *Circumspect* by whom they are *led*. *Courtiers*, for the most part, intending their *partitular interests*, rather than things of more *publick concernment*. From whence it may be concluded, that in case of defect, which all *Princes* are, upon some temptation or other, either *at home* or *abroad* liable to; *Birth*, next to *sufficiency* is to be *regarded*; The *sense of honour* supplying in divers persons the place of *Conscience*: *Religion*, in our days, being so blended in *Hypocrisie*, that 'tis come to signifie in *Statesmen* greater *danger*, than *advantage*, by raising more *distrust*, than *Confidence*. *King James*, out of a too strong presumption of *his own reach*, did not weigh the *weakness* of those he admitted to the *Council-Table*: which might have been the better excuted, had his *Junctio* consisted of such as were *Princes need wise Counsels*;

Noble and *wise*: But since these Indowments were not only frequently wanting, but a *Pension* from some one or more foraign *Princes* taken to suborn *Fidelity*, who can wonder the *Common-wealth* fell into distempers, after the *Governours* had totally neglected the wholsom *Regiment*, *Queen Elizabeth* had so long used with good *success*: and did never cease *tampering*, till by *new conclusions* they had put it wholly *out of frame*. *King James* participating so far of the Misfortune of all *Passionate Men* (especially such *as abound* in *Fear*) as he carried always a *Traitor* in his *face*; of which every wise *By-stander* was able to make use. And from this *patency*, his *Policy* was not only *enervated*, but rendred more *destructive* than an open and Candid *Discovery* might possibly have proved. From whence his Majesty may be thought, not throughly acquainted with the *Constitution* of *England*, when he bestowed the strongest of his Labours, in the *suppressing* and *vilifying* the *Nobility*, not only found the *Glory*, but the reall *safety* of the Nation: till their virtue was allayed through a *too great dilatation*; by which the *House of Lords* became *numerous*, and as it were of one Nature with the *Commons*: a fault so far incapable of amendment, as the *King* was forced, for want of a *party* strong enough for his particular service, every *session* to Increase their *number*: who being *exhaled* out of the greater *Mass of Gentry*, through the *heat* of *affection*, or cast into this *figure* by the help of *Mammon*, they brought up with them into the House of Commons the same desires they had

had of a *Reforming* all things amiss in *Church* and *State*; which in a greater paucity, the Lords could not have so much felt; being above all *oppression*, but what dropped upon them from the *Anger* of the *Prince*, about whom they had in their *absence*, some *friend* or other to mediate in their behalf. I confess *our Kings* have been often *worsted* by their *Peerage*, but very rarely, &c. Nor were the *conveniencies* of any *other Government* put in the scales, much less *Monarchy* exploded; The *antient Nobility* being in their greatest *fury* and highest *Pride*, wise enough to *remember* the *Plume of State* could not be *ruffled* without putting in *disarray* all their *smaller feathers*. Nor were the *Kings* of this Nation, before *free holders* grew to *numerous*, and *Honour* came to be valued by the *Candle*, not *desert*, to seek with whom to *compound*, in the greatest *dangers* their own *Tyranny*, or others *Ambition* had cast them upon; Because the *chief Leaders* in all *Rebellions* were *persons of quality*; and bore so much *Zeal* to the *preservation* of their *Country*, being of the same piece with the *Crown*, As not to demand more than the Prince could well spare, and without which *themselves*, their *Tenants*, and *friends* (amounting amongst them all to little less than the whole *Commonalty*) could not be happy; it being the nature of this Climate to *Love Parliaments*, and *abhor* all *Arbitrary Government*. Wherefore the *damage* the *long Sessions* brought, or might farther have accumulated upon this wretched Nation, had it not been stopped by the hand of

Providence:

Providence: which (conſidering the *unwillingneſs* of the *remainder* to give over, or call others to them better able, if not more willing to unload the people) ought not (in my Judgement) to be applauded. It being as unnatural for a *Parliament* to be *perpetual*, as for a perſon to be continually fed with *vomits* and *purgations*. But to winde up theſe Politick *Enthuſiaſms* (at leaſt for the preſent) out of my head. The *Engliſh* uſed their Kings, in caſe of *Rebellion*, As the *Catholick Princes* were wont to do the *Pope*, from whom, after they had taken away, for former *miſdemeanors all that he had*, they did, out of *conſcience*, *fear* of their neighbours, of their own conveniency, quietly admit him, or ſome other, into the ſame Sea, *&c.* wiſely apprehending that no *quiet* can remain, either in *Church* or *Common-wealth*, without a *Governor*, or *Community* of ſtrength ſufficient to head and maintain the *Laws*. Wherefore the *fift Monarchy men*, together with the pretenders to a preſent *Terreſtrial Kingdom of Chriſt* (if not able to produce more authentick warrant than hitherto they have done) deſerve little protection from the *Magiſtrate*, becauſe they deny *obedience*, where it is without queſtion due.

Uxorious Princes of dangerous conſequence to a State.

38. It may be numbred amongſt things noted of dangerous conſequence, for a State to be governed by an *Uxorious Prince*, *though reputed no fool in other Relations.* It raiſing ſo great *Jealouſies* both at home and abroad, as none will *treat* with him about *buſineſs* of any *Secret concernment*, but upon

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an unavoidable Neceſſity; being in all *Negotiations* bound to *communicate* as punctually with the *Queen* as the *King*, upon a no leſs penalty (in caſe ſhe ſhould take her ſelf *ſlighted*) than the ruin of the affair. The like *caution* may be given in reference to ſuch *Privado*'s or *Minions* as are really, or thought able to *diſpoſe* of their *Maſters Conceſſions*: which, beſides the *diſhonour* it brings to the perſon of the *Prince*, cauſeth a far greater *after indigency*, out of *diſtruſt* (in all *Treatys* with *foraigners*, no leſs than his own *Council at home*) than there can be found room for, where but one is to be *addreſſed* to, Since Prudence forbids to venter *wholſom Counſel* (ever diſtaſtful to ſome) in a boſom not tight enough to contain it. Wherefore in ſuch *Effeminate Courts* wiſdom is not to tamper at all, or to a fit advice to the *Diſtaff*, rather than *Scepter*, as the more *dangerous weapon*, and from whence many *blows* have proceeded in my time, capable of no milder a *cure* than loſs of all hope for the future, if not of *eſtate* and *life* it ſelf. Nor is it poſſible for ſuch *Kings* to be better attended than by *fools* and *Paraſites*, being compelled upon all events to take the *worſt* of *Counſels* themſelves, and as upon their own Score, out of *ſhame* to ſay from *whence they had it*. Nor can a *Prince*, in prudence if in Juſtice, accuſe his *Conſort* for any *incontinency in ſpeech*, after ſuch an *example* given, as to tell *her* what is not fit for any other beſides *himſelf* to *know*. Where *Polygamy* is in uſe, this errour, of moſt dangerous conſequence to all in a Superla-

tive

tive power, is not so *frequent*. It being *inconvenient* if not *pernicious* for such to Love or *hate* any, beyond so exact a proportion in either of these passions, as may disinable him to *alter* upon every assurance of a contrary Desert. A small *blemish* in the conduct of a *private family*, becomes a no less pernicious than ugly *Deformity* in that of a *State*: where *the wives of Kings* should wholly intend *the content* of their *Husbands*, and *security* of the *Nation*, in *producing* a fair and unquestionable *Succession*; and not by *fidling* (as they are too commonly found in *Europe*) with *Government*, to put all *out of tune*. From whence it may be thought no bad counsel, for those of the *first magnitude* in a *State*, to be no longer in *private conversation with women*, than during the less serious Imployment of *Love*: Their *Advice* like *Eves* being not seldom suborned from the *Maligners* of their *Husbands* Felicity, and the rest of the time spent in *querimonious accusations* of his *best Servants*, or as *unreasonable demands* in favour of *their own*. So as if the *head* of *Sampson* had contained but the tithe of that *Strength* said to have resided in his *hair*, a *woman* had never understood *where* it lay; who through an impertinent and tedious *Importunity* (which is not seldom mixed with *deceit*) do often beguile such into a *discovery*, as have been thought *proof* against *Honor*, *Money*, or the *Rack* it self. And because I apprehend *this caution* to be of greater *concernment* than it hath been Imagined, take this *example* which lies yet amongst a number more crowded in my memory, as thought the fittest,

fittest, because brought about through a combination of *Passions*, of which *Fear* got the predominance by the Mediation of *lust*.

Queen Elizabeth being presented with an *Overture* but of *Spain*, so secretly managed by the *Counsel there*, as the first news of its approach came with it self; the *Messengers* (out of fear of a surprisal) dispensing with the *Ceremonies* commonly used in behalf of *Embassadors*, (because it appeared something prodigious, considering the *pride of his Nation*) did much inflame the *Lord Treasurers* desire to know the farthest *extent* of the *Negotiation*, as *conducing* to a present advantage, that such an *Answer* might be made as should in some proportion quadrate with the demnad of the *Catholick King*, at that time standing upon *terms* little different from those of an *enemy*, And being informed from the ordinary *espials* he kept about his person, that the *attempt* was *difficult*; if any thing neerer than *Impossible*, the *Don* out of distrust *still carrying his Instructions in his Bosom*: *Burghely* caused such a *Jesuite* to be *apprehended*, as by reason of former miscarriage could not expect Mercy, and *imparts his desires* to him under as large *promises*, if he brought them about, as *threats* to be revenged on him or his *Associates*, if he found himself *abused*. All which, though with some reluctancy he *undertook* and *performed*, through the mediation of a *fair Lady* that first *took away his Commission*, and then *laid it again under his Pillow* w[illegible] he slept: So *wise* are *women*, or such *fools* be *men* during the *time* they abide under *their Incantation*.

39, Few

The alliance of the Austrian family most successful to England.

39. Few *Marriages* have succeeded better, *than those* contracted between the *Austrian Family* and *England*. Nor is this a bare result of *Luck* but *Reason*: The *remoteness* of *Spain*, but above all, their Love to their own *Sun-shine*, *Customs*, and *Religion*, having fixed their affections so firm to their own *doors*, as they have no desire for *Change*: a quality the *levity* of other Nations that renders them the more universal Citizens of the World, doth not admit of: whereas a *Spaniard* is a rare ingredient in any Climate but his own. Out of which may be drawn this presumption, that their *Ladies* cannot but be thought to leave an *Issue* subject to the less question. Nor is the Natural *frugality* of this *graver people* (seldom found amongst the *French*) a small advantage to the *English Court*; And might not *unpossibly* cure it of that *expensive itch* she hath long born to *change her fashions*: an humour no less *Mad* than *destructive*. And through the prosecution of which all *marks* of *knowledge* are removed, and the *Serving-man*, with the *Master*, the *Mistress* with the *Maid* reduced to an equal *parity* in relation to *distinction*, where they have no more certainty to ghess by, than is deducible from the *Habit*. Whereas in *Queen Elizabeths days*, and long since, all *degrees* of persons were *discernable* by their *Cloaths*. Nor hath any abuse passed over, under so little notice, made deeper Impressions into the wealth of both *Court*, *City*, and *Country* than this; or hath rendered them more the Objects of *Envy* and *Contempt*:

Indistinction of habits a cause of much poverty.

Contempt: who are in this become ſo ridiculous, as to own *faſhions*, by which they are ſo *manacled* as they cannot *ſtir*, carrying their *Arms* in as great a *reſtraint*, as the Women of *China* were reported to *bear* their *feet*; through which they are neceſſitated to remain idle, as not able to uſe their *hands*, or any other honeſt diverſion, but what can be deduced from *diſcourſe*; which the *Spaniſh gravity* waves. Their *Ladies* being unlike the *French*, whoſe luck having been of late to be left *guardians* to *Minor Kings*, do aſſume to themſelves a ſufficiency to manage a *State*: through which their *Husbands* come to be perplexed in their affairs.

Hope *lulls* Induſtry *aſleep and is often the* decoy *to* ruin.

40. Though *Hope* intrudes her ſelf as a Medium in all *diſtreſſes* yet it cannot but be found in experience to *obſtruct* (if too far reli'd upon) the application of more prevalent *remedies*, by dazling the underſtanding; and like a *white Witch*, keeping *Reſolution* ſo long *in ſuſpenſe*, and imploy'd in *ceremonial applications*, as the ſingle fit of a *Feaver* doth not rarely in a ſmall time prove owner of the danger of an *Incurable Hectick*. And thus through a plauſible and natural Complyance, *Hope* becomes *the falſe Prophet of Fortune*, who by her *more happy predictions* is able to *ruin* often the *Affairs*, and not ſeldom the *Perſons* of *Princes*; the evil conſequence of which having been found to produce *ſadder effects* than thoſe of *Diſpair* (the *youngeſt Daughter* of her *Siſter*, *Fear*) who though *laſt beard*, hath ſometimes been obſerved

Merciful, since the first will increase their *fears*: as the latter doth delude their *hopes*: which in such cases cannot be satisfied but with *Confiscations*, not possibly to be so equally divided, as not to occasion more *envy* than *love*. Because in case of *Victory*, he is no more able to *punish* all appeared *against him*, than to *satisfie* their expectations that stood *for him*, who in another *Commotion* may upon that score be as ready to become his *enemies*: The *Impudence* of *Souldiers* increasing more by one *intestine war* than three *foraign*; and do breed in a *Politick* the like *distempers* too great a quantity of *Blood* is found to cause in a *natural Body*. Wherefore since the marks of *precept* make not so deep Impressions, as those of *Example*, all former *ill success* being imputed to some *miscarriage* in the attempt; as the *good* is cryed up beyond *desert*, it may not be bad Prudence in Kings to *obliterate out of Books all marks of Sedition* (As I heard that famous *Antiquary* Sr. *Robert Cotten* say, *thirty had been in England since the Conqueſt*) left Posterity should reduce them into *precedents* for the like disorders. To conclude, if a Prince finds his *friends* (which in a *rebellion* are hard to be discerned from *Enemies*) not able at the *first Essay of force* to bring in the *conspirators*, The *Lions Skin* is to be *devested*, and all *hope* layed by, but what may be deduced out of *Compliance*; for fear some about his *Chair* should *discover* the *weakness* of his [illegible], or by *playing booty* ruin him quite: *One losing* in such cases more than an ordinary *presage of a greater to follow*. For though the *Rabble* are not

not capable of *prudence* enough to *temper themselves*, they own ſo much *ſtrength*, as, through the *guidance* of *others*, they are able to *diſtemper a State*. The *materials* being eaſier to be *diſcovered* than the *contrivers* of any *Rebellion*.

41. *Plantations* and *Communities*, like *fiſh-pools* and *Lakes* are *quieteſt*, if not *moſt Happy* at *firſt founding* or *Storing*. For after ſome *revolution of time hath rendered* them *Numerous*, *Neceſſity*, no leſs the *parent* of *Spurious* than *Legitimate Arts*, doth in a *natural favour* to *ſelf-preſervation*, teach them to *cheat* and *Oppreſs* one the other. Wherefore the *golden Age*, ſo much celebrated in *Poetry*, is as remote from *Fiction* as *Miracle*. The *Earth* affording more *felicity* to a *Few* than *Many*, which thoſe people bordering upon the *Sun*, from whence *Mankind* is at firſt ſaid to proceed, might, by reaſon of a *ſlower increaſe*, longer enjoy; Till by falling into conjunction with our *colder Climes*, and (ſo) apter for *Generation*, ſhe came to *over ſtock* her ſelf: Looſing the *univerſal felicity* in a *croud of Inhabitants*. From whence ſprung not only the *Uſe*, but an unavoidable *Neceſſity* of introducing *Government*, which falling under diſtinct *Headſhips* or *Royalties*, needed no greater provocation to *Rapine* and *war*, than the *ſtrongeſt* found in their *Natural temper*: The ſame *Malignancy* abounding *then*, as doth *now*, though paliated by the great *plenty* of all things the *world* afforded at the *beginning*: none being ſo much

Plantations moſt hapy at their firſt planting, becauſe leſs numerous.

in love with *Choler*, or any other *passion*, as to fall into it unprovoked. This proves *Want*, *the Original of Law*, as St. *Paul* makes that *an occasion of sin*. And from hence might spring a greater *sincerity* in *the service of God*, the sole *refuge* of those that have none other to fly to. *It being common with all men to extend their hope beyond the proportion of what they fear*; and therefore easily flattered into a *belief* of any *felicity* though never so *improbable* or *remote*. And because this is *Natural* and imprinted in the *character* of all *Humanity* I look upon it as none of the weakest assurances of our *future bliss*.

Most wars occasioned by the jealousies of small Royalets.

42. *The World* was never in so *serene* a temper, as under *Augustus Cæsar*; during whose reign the *King of Heaven* and *Earth* appeared, and the *Temples of War* stood sealed up, so as the *Gods* and *Goddesses* assigned by the *Heathen* for *Military imployments*, had leave to *play*; being *emancipated* from all *perturbations* arising through *the variety of Petitions* the *contrary Interest* of *Mortals* caused them to make. Nor can this *Halcyon Tranquility* be in reason imputed to any remoter *Earthly cause*, than the entire *Unity* of those Times, *terminating* in the single person of *a Moderate Prince*. From whence may be naturally *deduced* this *Theoreme*, That *Christendom* would not only strengthen her posture against the *Grand Seignior*, but be more secure in her self, under *one Monarch*, than thus *Cantonized* as she is. Though I shall not dispute what Nation is most

moſt opportunely ſituated for ſuch a Deſign; to avoid Controverſie, being as ready (and I believe under protection of as ſtrong Reaſon) to preſent *England*, as others may be to offer *France*, or any Member belonging to the *Houſe of Auſtria*. Wherefore to paſs over the diſcourſe of *an Univerſal Monarchy*, as ſavouring too much of *the Utopian Dialect*, and rendred *impoſſible* through the huge and invincible *proportions*, ſo much *Time*, *Ignorance* of the *Church*, and *Wiſdom* of *Princes* hath laid together, I ſhall modeſtly examine, Whether *Inferiour Commonalties* and *ſmall Roylets* be not as great a *Bar* to *an Univerſal Tranquility*, as the extravagant *power* of the *Peerage* was to *France*, before *moderated* by the wiſdom of *Lewis* the the Eleventh. Theſe *leſs* Potentates being compelled, through *weakneſs* and *want*, to caſt the *Balls of contention* amongſt the *mightier Monarchs*, which if *reduced* to an *abſolute Obedience*, as they are already to little leſs, through a neceſſary *dependance* from their own preſervation, on *France* or *Spain*; Their *malevolence* rendred, through *Fears* and *Jealouſie*, general, and not ſeldom contracted out of falſe ſuggeſtions, might be rebated; And *the more powerful* left at better leiſure to attend the motions of the *Ottoman Family*, and ſtop the leaks of *Hereſie* and *Schiſm*, which if ſuffered to *run on*, will *ſuffocate* the power, if not totally *eclipſe* the external glory of *the Chriſtian Religion*. Nor can a better cauſe be found, why *the Popes power over Kings* (no queſtion at firſt uſurped) ſhould ſtill remain floating be-

twixt the bladders of *Ignorance* and *Superſtition*, but that he is able to foment a *party* amongſt theſe, which he can increaſe out of the natives of any Nation that doth oppoſe him. Thus, as it were through an *Antipetiſtaſis* raiſed between a burning Zeal in the *people*, and Fear of the *Prince*, he comes to domineer over all alike, but thoſe have crept from under his *Cenſures*; who are nevertheleſs *liable* to his *Laſh*, at ſome time or other, in reſpect of the number of *Seminaries* he hath ready (yet unpaid by himſelf) to vindicate his *Quarrels* in every place. Nor are the deſires of the *Pope*, no more than the reſt of ſuch *petty Princes*, as have nothing *but ſhifts to ſubſiſt by*, cordial for the total abolition of the *Turk*, out of a dread of themſelves; which alſo extends to the diſturbing of an *Univerſal peace:* They looking upon *the diminution of their Grandure*, as the only *Sacrifice* able to *purchaſe* it. And this gives them, like *whelps*, the boldneſs to *bite* the *greater Monarchies* by their *legs* and *extreamer parts*, when they find them at odds amongſt themſelves, or (which is worſe) grappled with the *Grand Signiour*. And he that is Ignorant in this, cannot be thought knowing in the *Imperial Hiſtory*, no more than in other *Paſſages*, where not only *his Holineſs*, but *the moſt Chriſtian*, to obtain advantage of the (in that) more *Catholick King*, are reported to have made *a ſolemn league* with this enemy of *Chriſt*. Nor have the *German Princes* remained long tongue-tide in this behalf, no more than their *Ceſar*; who may be the *better excuſed*, as having done it ſometimes to prevent

prevent a more immediate danger from them at home. It being common with these *petty Governments* to hatch such *plots*, and give birth to those *Designs* with which the rest of the world is commonly disturbed: Manifest in the *Duke of Birone*, formerly so far instrumental to the reduction of the *Crown of France*, who became after to have his *fidelity* corrupted through the poyson he received from *Savoy*; that continual *thorn* in the *Sides* of her *Neighbours*. Nor can *Rochel* acquit her self so well, during the time *her walls* did separate the Inhabitants from the obedience of their *Prince*, as, for the Honour of *the Reformation*, I desire it could from like practices, no more than other *Corporations*, &c. have done; the blemishes of which it goes against the grain of my *Profession* to discover: Though I wonder from the inspiration of what *Spirit* we come to prosecute the followers of *an unrevealed Anti-Christ*, for ought I ever yet could learn from any *Expositer*, with so great an Animosity, and pass without notice one doth face us already: Being without question better able and more ready to do greater Dishonour and Mischief to *the Christian Religion*, than *the Bishop of Rome* can be tempted to, in regard of his own particular Interest. Through which is Justified that common Imprudence general in the world, where *men prosecute a small damage from a neighbour, with a fiercer revenge, than a greater sustained by an enemy*; like *Connies*, that may be observed to tear and fight with those of their own kind, but will make no resistance

againſt the *Pol-Cat*, the common Enemy of all. And thus do our high-noſed Hypocritical *Zealots* that pretend to ſmell ranck *Idolatry* in all Profeſſions but their own; yet in the mean time are found not only to neglect the open and profeſſed *Antagoniſts of Chriſt*, but with *Pharaohs lean Kine*, are obſerved to devour the *Revenues*, and take the *Houſes of God* into Poſſeſſion, under the pretence of a *Reformation*; firſt begun in *Germany*, which, as ſome have thought, was left by providence to the *Auſtrian Family*, not out of Gods wrath, but a tender care of the *Chriſtian Affairs*.

The Spaniards having Aſia in expectation to conquer Europe, impolitick and unſucceſsful.

43. Had the *Catholick King* ſought *extenſion of Empire* at the prejudice of *Aſia*, and not *incroached* upon the *Territories* of his *Chriſtian Neighbours*, he might in probability have been nearer, if not his whole ends, yet far more than he is *Maſter of*, or can in likelyhood be ever able to obtain, by the courſe he takes. Nor is this my ſingle Opinion, but an aſſertion of a *Spaniard* in a ſmall Treatiſe, where he handles five *Problems*, of which this appears not to favour of the leaſt likelyhood: Since in the firſt proſecution of ſuch a project, his *Sails* would not only be *emptied* of much of the *envie* all the *Princes* of Chriſtendom do *ſwell* with now in reference to his undertakings, but *filled* with their wiſhes for a happy ſucceſs. Nor could the *Pope* in *ſhame*, if in *conſcience*, have refuſed him a *Cruſado*, or any *aſſiſtance* the *Church* could afford, at leaſt within

in his own Kingdoms, if he ſhould have owned an Impudence to deny a larger *Contribution*, or the uttermoſt of his endeavours to ſtave off *France* from faſtening upon his Patrimony in his *abſence*. Nor can *Ambition* as *Machiavel* wiſely obſerves, promiſe it ſelf a more probable ſucceſs than is likely to follow an *invaſion* of *Turkie*; whoſe *ſtrength*, as the *ſame Author* atteſts, lies more in *Tradition* than real *Truth*, at this day in *peace* with the *Perſian*, and ſo ſecure of the reſt of *Chriſtendom*, as if they were all aſleep, yet hath not been able to wreſt *Candy*, in all this time, out of the weakly ſupported hands of the *Venetians*. Nor doth any *Prince* in the World own thoſe *advantages* for ſuch an *attempt* as the *Spaniard:* his other *Limb*, the *Emperour*, lying at the Mouth of *Conſtantinople*, ready to atache him upon the ſound of any *Mutiny* or *Rebellion*, at this day very *frequent* amongſt them: And might, with the more probability of advantage, *be fomented*, becauſe the people are in a condition not capable to be *impowered*. Nor is there any Nation in the World of more *contrary Complexions*, in relation to *People* and *Religions*. Nor can any man think it a matter of difficulty, to take in the *Grand Seignieurs Out-works*, that hath heard what report Sir *Robert Manſel* made at his return from *Algiere*, where, upon ſight of a *Commiſſionleſs Navie* that King *James* ſent, the Patrons became *Suitors* to their *Slaves* for *Mercy*.

The Speculative and practick part of Politicks require different tempers.

44. Though *Machiavel* may deserve *Commendations*, for the excellent use he hath made of the proceedings of his first *happy*, then *Miserable* Acquaintance *Cæsar Borgia*, Son to *Pope Alexander the sixth*. Yet I doubt, if himself had filled the same room, and owed *the like advantage*, whether he had been able to have attained to that height *Cæsar* did, though in *wisdom* and splendor of *Birth* not inferiour to him, It requiring *one* Spirit to *write* and *another* to *present to the Life* and suitable to every occasion, all *Scenes* both *Comical* and *Tragical* in relation to *friends* or *foes*, likely to furnish out, with a present security or future continuance, a Person fit to mount into a *throne* made vacant by *fraud*; Since none but such as from their birth have been used to *personate* what really *they never were*, can, in this wise *Authours Opinion*, pretend upon a less hazard than the ruin of himself or his family, to *the Government of State*: To which there are required such *contrary Intricacies*, as whilst one is unraveling, another *twines*; so as without an exact observance of those *Elements of Policy* he prescribes, there can be no hope for a *Tyrant* to subsist. Nor were these *Aphorisms* common only to *Cæsar Borgia*, or died with him, but continue to this day, especially in *Italy*: where no *wickedness* is shunned, any waies conducing to the *Extention of Empire* and the *ends of Ambition*. *His Holiness* himself entertaining all means for *Lawful* and *right*, carrying any probability of advancing his *Children* or *Nephews*. In which they have

have remained ſo long *proſperous*, as moſt of the *ſmall Princes* beyond the *Alps*, are themſelves, or their wives, *chips of the Croſs*. And meer *excreſcencies* of the *Policy* and *power* of the *Church*, which *practice* is made ſo *common* through *Cuſtom*, as all marks of *Reproach* lye covered, if not in the *Nature*, in the *Neceſſity* of the attempt. Nothing leſs than a *ſuperlative ſtrength* being able to ſecure the *Iſſue* of a preſent *Pope*, from the rapine and ſpoil of him that may not unpoſſibly ſucceed. It running quite contrary to the wiſe practice of *the Conclave*, to chooſe twice together out of one and the ſame *Houſe*, but rather to exclude all the immediate poſſeſſors *Confidents* or *Kindred*, *out of a dread they have* to affix the *Miter* in a particular *Family*. Yet notwithſtanding the *Popes* prudent *management* of affairs, during their own time, they have not ſeldom been ſo fowly miſtaken, by counting upon the ſcore of their own *Judgements* and natural affections, as to anticipate the ruin of them they ſtudied to preſerve, for want of making an Impartial ſurvey of the *Prudence* of ſuch *Children* or *Nephews*, as they ſought to advance, and a through conſideration of the ſtrength of their *Complexions*, and depth of their *Conſciences*, whether able to digeſt all ſorts of blood, cold and hot, likely to obſtruct the waies to what was aimed at. The venerable Hiſtorian *Guicciardine* noting, that though *Alexander the ſixt* was at firſt ſo far perplexed at *the death* of his *eldeſt Son*, as to *renounce the world*, The ſame Author ſaith, *he reſumed it again*

again upon the firſt aſſurance given, that his *other ſon the Cardinal* had been the *Murderer*; And did, after his *reſignation* of the *red Hat*, redouble his *endeavours* to raiſe him; as if he had looked upon the throwing of his Brother into *Tiber*, and the laying his *Siſter* upon the Bed of *Inceſt*, as a good Portent of his future greatneſs; whoſe *Story* though ſomething *gelt* by reaſon of the *Scandal* it gave, may be worth the reading, no leſs than *Machiavels* Notes upon *Cæſar Borgia*; out of which, and all *Politicks* elſe, may be obſerved, That *People indure oppreſſion with more patience, from an old, than a young Prince*, as thinking it leſs durable, and *from an Uſurper, than one aſcending through a continued ſucceſſion*; as eſteeming it more *natural*, and no leſs *than they looked for*, or do acknowledge to have deſerved, for not ſeeing when they were well: A conſideration a *Polititian* ſhould expunge by contrary practices, leaving them a *liberty* in all *innocent punctilio's*, and every thing elſe remaining to their *Lives* and *Eſtates*, ſo long as they remain quiet, let the perſons be of what *magnitude* they will: ſuitable to the wiſe conduct of *Spain*, where the *Elder Family* is ſuffered annually to renew *his claim to the Crown*, though with as little ſucceſs as interruption. Nor is it ſafe for a Prince inceſſantly to afflict his people, who may, like *Dogs*, quietly for a time indure it, though upon a too unreaſonable *continuance* they do not ſeldom ſo far participate of that Beaſts (well known) condition, *as to fly in their face*. Wherefore *Governours* ſhould,

ſhould for their own ſake, no leſs than the Nations, imitate *God*, who though abſolute diſpoſer of *Promiſe* and *Performance*, doth conform the *latter* punctually to the *firſt*: which whoſoever doth not, may, like *a drunken man*, be juſtly thought intoxicated in his underſtanding; ſince *the breach of an Oath* muſt needs be a *Trap* abominated by all, in relation to the more innocent *Sheep*, becauſe honeſt men hardly can diſpence with the uſe of it, in the inſnaring of ſuch *Wolves* as do oppreſs and devour them.

45. *Machiavel* doth accuſe as *imprudent*, all ſuch *Princes* (and moſt eſpecially thoſe whoſe *Virtue*, as he calls it, hath given *a beginning to Empire*) that *knew not when to ſtop that iſſue of Blood, which may at firſt be neceſſary to keep ſuch Titles in, as have no better colour to face their Legality, but what is attained by Prudence, or the Sword* (from the benevolence of which, all powers now extant were at their original derived) *but did continue their bloody cruelties and malignant Aſpect.* Keeping by that means *the Peoples diſcontents* waking, and ſo by conſequence *their own* no leſs chargeable than terrible *fears* and *jealouſies*; nothing being more obvious to probability, than the raiſing ſome *Spirits* (amongſt the number of Enemies, ſuch a continued practice will in all reaſon produce) as can never reſt ſatisfied without *Revenge*; Often brought about by ſo uncouth and *improbable means*, and the mediation of ſuch *deſpicable Inſtruments*, as no *purvoyance* *Bloody Princes odious and imprudent.*

voyance can sheild the person of a *Prince* from: who, whilst his prudence, like the *Philosophers eyes*, are fixed upon higher and more remote *dangers*, *he falls into some nearer Trap he never dreamt of.* And to manifest the truth of this Assertion, *the same Author* doth instance *Philip* of *Macedon*; and many other *examples* borrowed from *Antiquity*; which I shall wave, and only content my self with that of *the Duke of Buckingham.* That fell by the hand of *Felton*, whose *Picture* I am the willinger to draw, as thinking it well becoming *the bosom of all Persons in power.* In which I am not likely to be partial, having to my knowledge never seen the man. Though *his Father* owed an *Imployment* under *mine* in the *Office* of *Remembrance* for many years. He was of a *Religious and quiet conversation*, given to no *open vice* nor *whimsical Opinions*, being *a frequent hearer of those Preachers* as were never found to give incouragement to such *practices*, but rather the contrary: *Prayers* and *Tears* being the sharpest *weapons* that were then *formed* in the pulpit by *Parochial Pastors*, what ever *Lecturers* did; from whose doctrine I have been told he was ever averse; *nor was hon ſt Jack*, a title alwaies given him, (though rendred after more diffusive by the *Dukes* enemies, than so ill a consequence might merit) Agitated by *revenge*, or any *privater Spirit* than what he was perswaded did regard the *Common-weal*; As I heard *William Earl of Pembrooke* protest, who could not but be the best informed, having assisted at *his examinations*

who

who did withall aver he never saw *piety* and *valour* better or more temperately *mixed in one Person*, Nor was he found, as *the same Lord* attested, in any *untruth*. I confess that through the continual Inculcation of his *Majesties Chaplains*, and others of the *long Robe*, he did *disavow* so far the *Lawfulness* of the *Fact*, which before his Conscience never blanched at, as he desired *The hand that did it might be cut off*: But neither himself, nor the indeavour of the *Dukes* friends could procure him a sharper *punishment*, than *Law* and *Custom* provides, in case of a *Murder*, for the *meanest Subject*. Nor can this *Mission to the Tower* be looked upon for less than the best Fortune so high a Malefactor could be capable of. Since during his abode there, which was many weeks, he had a *plentiful Diet* provided for him at the Kings charge. By all which it may appear, the Man was only led through strong *Enthusiasms* That *Buckingham* was *an enemy to the State*: An Opinion Princes ought above all things to avoid, by shunning every occasion likely to represent him *cruel* or *Implacable* in the eyes of the people, by being continually tumbling and tossing that lumber out of his way, which ought if *at all*) to be removed *at one and the same time*, and then *with as little noise and Injustice as may be*, *Repetition of Punishments*, *Confiscations* and *Imprisonments* being apt to be thought by those not able to see to the end of the prospect (yet most considerable for number) to result rather from *the Princes Nature* than emergency

To ascend a Throne by much blood unsafe.

gency of the cauſe, and therefore not improper to alarum the moſt Innocent; rendring *the Fable of Hydra* an Hiſtorical Truth, the cutting off *one head* producing from Kindred and Friends *hundreds* in the place, of which perhaps the Major part were none before: nothing carrying a greater propenſity towards *fertility* than *blood*. Wherefore ſince a *Tyrant*, by reaſon of the *crooked ways* that lead to an *uſurped Crown*, *holds not his ſafety under ſo conſcientious a tie* as a *Natural Prince*, till he become *ſo* through *Lenity*, *Juſtice*, and *Continuance*: it behoves him to be more *moderate* in the proſecution of others, *leſt through their innocency*, *either real or imputative*, *his own prevarications ſhould be kept in remembrance*. And, for a vindication of the contrary practice, *Machiavel* preſents as his beſt pattern to *the houſe of Medici* (that had not only at firſt ſurreptitiouſly gotten, but didafter regain, through the mediation of like Arts, *the Principality of Tuſcany*) *Ceſar Borgia*, who was found to remove all Enemies and Obſtructions out of his way *in groſs*, and not dribling *by retail*: The *people* being as *partial* in their *pity*, as ready upon the apprehenſion of *Injuſtice* and *Cruelty* to exerciſe a *more extravagant Tyranny of their own*. For though a frequent puniſhing of ſingle perſons may *ſtop the mouth* of this *Monſter* for a time, it doth more increaſe than diminiſh its deſire to *bite*, upon the approach of a ſmall advantage, which is far eaſier found than may be imagined. Wherefore no cauſe of *diſcontent* can in prudence be admitted,

but

but what is ſquiezed out by *neceſſity*, but rather *Lenitives* applied: the *Multitude* being of ſo *brutiſh* a nature, as to become more pliant to obedience through *ſtroking*, than *ſmart*, eſpecially if any thing they *fear* lies in the way, *or where that they Love is removed*; it remaining beyond peradventure, that *Clemency* did never occaſion *Repentance*, but in caſe of *Example* or *Competitors*, *Blood* being like *Opium*, which taken in a juſt proportion cauſeth *quiet*, but that once exceeded, *Death*. Or if *patience* and *connivance* ſhould find their virtue loſt in ſome *incorrigible natures*, yet the errour were eaſily redeemed; whereas *Cruelty* is of ſo ſtaining a quality that, like the *Scorpion*, nothing can expunge it, but what reſults from its own Nature. Now where this *moderation* is obſerved, and all *Liberties*, *Honours*, and *Immunities* religiouſly preſerved, I apprehend no more cauſe of *grief* than the *Engliſh* had occaſion for *Joy*, when they exchanged King *Richard* the third for *Henry* the ſeventh: It remaining indubitable, that however *the firſt* might be a *Murderer*, he did not with *the ſecond oppreſs* the people: wherefore ſuch as call him *Tyrant*, offer violence to a number of *good Laws* he *made*; and *ſhew too much partiality*, if they eſteem *him* the better Prince that *brake* them: *Kings* that ſucceed by *birth*, acknowledging no obligation to any but their *Anceſtors*: whereas *Richard* endeavoured to gain the *Love* of the Nation, and did ſo far prevail, as to have *an Army* appear for him againſt *the Duke of Lancaſter*, in thoſe days

the

the Darling of the Commons, and wherein were divers *of quality*; a ſtrong preſumption of a Juſter and milder temper in Government, than the Ignorant and partial *Hiſtorians* of thoſe times are found to record; So as though *he* may be reckoned amongſt the *worſt of Men*, his *Laws* will recover *him* a place with the *beſt of Kings*, And *no bad precedent for thoſe* that may at firſt aſcend, contrary to the Guſto of a conſiderable part of the *people*, whoſe *affections* do cool or heat proportionable to their *fears* and *oppreſſions*, which none ought *to continue*; *A doubtful condition* being *the moſt terrible to Man.*

That Monarchy moſt durable, that's founded on the beſt Policy.

46. Though *Alexander* and *Cæſar* amongſt the Antients, And *the Kings of Sweden* in our days, may be thought to receive their Impulſes from *the Lord of Hoſts*, Yet the *damps* and chill proceedings that fell upon the *deſigns*, eſpecially of the *firſt* and *laſt* after their deceaſe, may give us leave to obſerve, How in all Ages *ſuch Nations have flouriſhed moſt and longeſt as were able to maintain the choiſeſt Prudence at the Helm*: For want of which, after *Alexanders Death*, the *Grecian Monarchy* was weakened, and in a Manner loſt, in the *Diviſion* his *Captains* made of it; each taking for his ſhare *ſo great a proportion*, as his own *Dexterity*, or the *Love* of the *Colony* he commanded, gave him the power to graſp: opening through this means an entrance for *the Roman Conqueſt*, which followed next, and, by reaſon of *a better eſtabliſhment*, did

did longer indure. From whence it may be ſuppoſed, That *the Fortune of* Greece *lay more in the hands, that of the* Romans *in the heads of their Founders: Wiſdom* having *proved*, in all Ages *more prevalent*, at long running, than *Succeſs*; which may become ſometimes the *Dowry*, but never the *Inheritance* of a *Fool*, or the owners of no farther *diſcerning Spirits* than the preſent. The Reaſon *great Achievements* do not ſeldom Terminate no better than in the ruin of his name, *Fame*, and *Family*, that did at firſt *bring them about*: the *advancement* of which is only able, if any thing be (an Opinion ever doubted of) to paliate the *Blood*, *Labour* and *Hazard* ſuch undertakers run for the preſent, without caſting up what attends them in future. Nor can I readily call to mind an *Uſurper* that did ever better *compoſe his affairs*, than *William Duke of Normandy*, who, after the defeat of *Harold*, the laſt *great Card* likely to indanger his *game*, is not reported continually to face the Nation of *England* with an *Army* (of no leſs terrible aſpect always to the *people*, than it is of dangerous conſequence ſometimes to the *Iſſue of a Prince* after the death of his Father; Their continual *readineſs in being*, affording them the faireſt opportunity to chooſe a *ſucceſſor*) yet did ſecretly maintain a convenient *militia* out of the *ſpoils* allotted to ſuch as had imbarked their Fortunes with his: not *paſſing* any *Land* from the Crown, but upon *Contract* with the owners to *aſſiſt* him at his call, with a proportion of *horſe* and *men* ſutable to their eſtate;

a covenant not hard to be performed by such whose *well-being* lay wholy inclusive with *his*. And of these *Tenants for Men and Arms* there was not a few as appears in the *Register* yet remaining of their *Names*, amongst whom I am not ashamed to find those of *Father* and *Mother:* Nor did the *Mustering of these* in every *County*, and upon all occasions fail to answer, though with far less expence and *universal terror*, all the ends *an Army* can serve for. Thus by concealing his *Rod* and sparing the *peoples purses*, he shewed them *the Nation might be as Happy under a foraigner, as a Native, one Family as another:* not possibly to be done but by removing out of the peoples eyes all appearance of *Oppression*. There lying so *vast a difference between the Regiment of Love and that of Fear*, as *This* may chance to *stand*, but *That* is never likely to *fall*. All which is said, *not to condemn any contrary Practice*, but modestly to shew, *where divers waies lead to one and the same end, the least destructive to the general quiet ought to be taken, in Policy, if not in Conscience.*

Tyranny not only natural but necessary.

47. The *weight* of *Superiours* will be born with the less *anxiety* and *perturbation*, if we seriously consider, That *Oppression* and *Tyranny* is not only *Natural* but *Necessary* to preservation. For if the *stronger Creatures* did not spoil and devour the *weaker*, the whole mass of *Animals* would perish by *famine*; or *stifle* for want of *room*. Since the *Earth* and *Sea*, *Natures Magazines for Provisions*, are not able

able to ſuſtain the *Stock*, a deſpicable *Mouſe* or *Pilchard* would in ſmall time twell to, *did they not become* the *food* of others. Wherefore wiſe *Providence* hath matched every things *ſtrength*, in their reſpective gradations, with ſuch proportionable *Antagoniſts*, that they are all contained within the compaſs of a juſt *proportion* (like a neſt of boxes) through a *reſtraint* from ſuch as own a greater extent in *power*. And to counterpoiſe the *wiſdom* in *Man*, *which renders him ſubordinate* to none but his particular *Species*, the ſame *Providence* doth permit him to be actuated by ſuch Impetuous *Paſſions* and bruitiſh *Deſires*, as, through the Mediation of *exceſs*, *Covetouſneſs*, and *Ambition*, he becomes the *Moderator*, no leſs than *Deſtroyer* of *his own kind*. The *Sword* receiving from theſe a daily *Commiſſion* in one place or other to *kill* and ſlay. And *where this is too little* to ballance the *Incomes* of *Luſt*, an *over repletion* calls in *Peſtilence* and *famine* to turn the Scales. All which cannot be Voted *Plagues*, but in a *reſpective* ſenſe, as only relating to ſuch as periſh in them; ſince a great, if not the moſt conſiderable part do receive benefit by it, and *Nature* her *delight*, which ſeems to reſide in *variety*. All this conſidered cannot but bear witneſs for *Seneca*'s Truth, *That nothing would accept of Life upon ſuch hard conditions as the Creature doth undergo, if it lay in its power to refuſe*: whoſe *being*, together with the *continuance* in it, is impoſed without any *primary conſent* at all, or *future*, but for the dread of falling into a *worſe*: Adorning the glorious *Chari-*

of Nature in this world, till like *withered flowers they be laid aside* by the same *Hand* first gathered them out of *Nothing*, and still preserves their *Root* through the act of *Generation*, by which they are led in a brutish Sensuality to betray *Posterity* to the same *Inconveniences*, those capable of reason cannot but apprehend uncapable of compensation from the highest tasted *content* this world affords; That whirles about in a continual *Circulation*, changing the *Forms*, but not the *Nature* of things. Wherefore though it appear against the decree of *Providence* to obstruct the course of *Generation*, it may not be undecent to mind *Christians*, that the great *reluctancy* usually found in them towards *Death*, doth not only question their *integrity in Religion*, but *understanding*: else *they would never adjourn*, by so much labour and anxiety of spirit, what *Nature* hath *allotted* for all in *general*, without the exception of any thing capable of *Life*: who may enjoy a free prospect of all her *beauties*, though possibly not of every *Malignity*, within the revolution of a *year*, if not during the shorter space of 24. *hours*; our time being composed of *day* and *night*; the rest appearing meerly but a *Repetition* of the same thing. Now *since it is the Sin* of *Knowledge*, to *undervalue what hath already passed by her in the visible apparitions* of *Experience*; so it may not unpossibly be as great a *mistake* in *Ignorance*, to *overvalue* all she never *tried*: and consequently becomes the cause of the general *Terror* apprehended in *Death*, the only deprivation of

temporal

temporal pain, The farthest confines of the *Land of Knowledge*, beyond which nothing is discovered, but what is ingraven upon the *Pillars* of *Faith*, read and interpreted according to the *Dialect* of the *Place*, and manner of the *Erudition*, it is our luck to fall under, and out of the verge of which (without a miraculous inspiration) it is *next* to *unpossible for a man to extend* his *Belief*. Wherefore in any Condition *to leave the world unwillingly*, or with an *unsettled hope* (since 'tis the decree of *nature*, and condition of our *birth*, not to continue us here) cannot but appear in the eyes of discretion, no less *manly* than *Christian*. Yet *many* are so unadvisedly foolish, as to *multiply Deaths*, through the agonies their *fears* raise in them, *that one day they must die*: the sole means left to free us from *Oppression*, if not to attain perfect *felicity*, which no servant of *Christ* can doubt of.

Honesty and Prudence not inconsistent.

48. *Our Saviour* would never have commanded, under a like Emphasis, *Innocency* and *Subtilty*, had he thought them *incompetible*, or not rather as *Necessary in things Sacred* as *Prophane*. It remaining unlikely, if not unpossible (during this total Eclipse of *miracles*, but what reflect upon the world under the notion of *Faith*, which cannot be taken for other than *Implicit*, in any thing that depends or relates to a more *foraign witness* than our own) to keep *Unity within the bonds of Peace*, but through *Policy* or (if you had rather have it so) *Prudence*: Though *Hooker*,

who may be worthily placed on the highest shelf ever *Clergy man* reached to, is not ashamed to intitle his *Works* by the *first*. Nor are the loudest bawlers against *Discipline* found to neglect it in their own affairs: but do rather back and improve the power of it through the force of the same arguments they laboured formerly to confute it. Making a like use of *Scripture* and *Reason of State*, as *Marishmen* do of their *Sluces*, by which they keep out the *Sea*, formerly owner of the place, and only imploy them for the benefit of *Land Flouds*. Wherefore *Discipline*, which is the same thing in the *Church*, as *Law* in the *State*, can *be no more spared* than *Government* it self; by which we are taught our *duty* to the *Magistrate*, who without this will be as far to seek *when to Command*, as we *what to obey*; from whence we shall find it an easie *descent* into *war*, the greatest *Hell* upon Earth, and of most consequence to be avoided by people any degree short of mad men. Now since we are not only led by the *example*, but *Precepts* of the *Apostles*, to yield *obedience* to our *Governours*, This in my apprehension avows it presumption in any, *below the owners of a supream power*, to question the *Decency*, *Sanctity*, or *Legality* of what the *Church* hath hithertofore, or may at this present avouch. For though really converted into *Idolatry*, which is *Treason* against *God*, as the *Brazen Serpent* was; Or into *Heresie* or *Sedition*, which imports no less in relation to his *Earthly Representatives*, The *Church* and *Prince* (as the *Mosaical Purifications*, &c. were in the

daies

daies of *Christ*) yet it cannot warrant the hands of any single person, no *not of the multitude in gross*, to appear in their *abolition*, unless by way of *Petition*: But to admit them as trials of their farther *patience*, till *God* inclines the heart of some *lawful Power*, the only place such a zeal can be safely kindled in, without threatning destruction to the whole frame. Men being commonly partial in their own care, else such as stile themselves *the best of them*, would never have exploded *the Calling of Bishops* (and suffered so many of *their persons* to want, though approved of in their own hearts, for men no less *exemplary* in their *Lives*, than *Learning*.) under no milder an aspect than *Antichristian*: yet did not at the same time *refuse to themselves* the Imperious title of the *Kingdom of Christ*, under which notion the *unworthiest* amongst them did, only in a less volume, though in the same or a larger extent, exercise the *like power* over the people of God (if the Nation afford any, a Blasphemy to doubt of) as was before held Tyranny by them for the *Hierarchy* to administer within the circuit of a *Diocess*: not remembring *the English Bishops* have not only been *Champions* in the cause of *Reformation*, but have Justified the conveniency of their *Discipline* through the experience of the *longest peace* and *greatest felicity England* ever enjoy'd, and with the effusion of the *least blood*; which *these had the fortune* or *will to be aspersed by*. I confess what hath been said, is something beyond my intent, though much short of, &c. Yet the con-

sideration of this little, may furnish out a competent proportion of *Charity* both at home and abroad to restrain us from taking any publick *Scandal*: since *the most, if not the worst of things the rigid and precise blanch at in our daies, were at the beginning set up to as plausible an end as they labour now to pull them down*: The first intention of which, cannot be quite lost to any, but such as abuse them to a contrary sense to what they were at first intended for; any more than a Mortal misapplication of a wholsome *Drug*, by an *Ignorant Emperick*, can render it *Poison* in the hands of a *Learned Physitian*. The same may almost be said of all the *Controversies* in *Christendom*, where the *Priests* have reduced *our guidance to Heaven* into a *sinful Art*, by rendering the *waies thither* so *easie*, as to be *bought*, or so *difficult*, as to be little less than *Impossible to be found*.

The opinion, that good works merit, very natural.

49. I have often indeavoured the contrary, yet *could never longer than during some* humble *extasie*, separate any *good work* in my self or another, from the *Opinion of Merit*; Though no mans *Education* and *Faith* did ever more bandy against it. From whence I have been often ready to conclude it as natural in *Religion* as *Reason*: For though a *peppercorn* doth in no sense quadrate with the value of a great *Copy-hold*, yet it doth serve to answer (as far as we are able) the will of the *Donor*, and in that sense alone, through the mediation of *Christ*, *Heir apparent* to our Soveraign *Landlord*,

Landlord, it becomes acceptable it ſelf, though far below our *duty*. For though, as a Chriſtian of the *Reformed Church*, I confeſs the principal ingredients in our *Creed* uncapable of reaching, but by the hand of *Faith*; yet where the *ſeeds* of *good works* are not mixed, *Religion* grows *flatulent* and *Hypocritical*: It being far eaſier and *cheaper to refrain* open and *negative Sins*, *than to perform* the more *chargeable affirmitive duties of Charity*: which if they were preſſed home, not only in *Pulpits*, but *practice*, and every one Conſcienciouſly *examined*, whether he profeſſeth *Sanctity to gain an Heavenly or an earthly inheritance*, you would ſee Hypocriſie ſneak away like the *young man in the Goſpel*, who was ready to *ride poſt to Heaven*, provided he might *carry his riches behind him*. Now to prove *Hypocriſie* and *uncharitableneſs* are the crying offences of this Age, conſider how many have, with *Zacheus*, met and compounded by *Reſtitution* for what they may not have peradventure come by ſo well. And in relation to *Governours*, to whoſe wiſer conſiderations I humbly offer theſe few following *Obſervations*, if they ſhall be pleaſed to caſt their eyes upon the Nation of the *Jews*, and inquire *in what condition they ſtood* at the coming of our *Saviour*, and till *Veſpaſian* beſieged *Hieruſalem*, they ſhall find not only their *Sins* but *Deſtruction* proceeded from *Hypocriſie*; which doth wholly rob the *Prince* of that *benefit* might be made of *Religion*, by converting it into a meeer outſide and deceiveable *godlineſs*, far more deſtructive to *Go-*

vernment

Hypocrisie more destructive to Government than Atheism.

vernment than *Atheism* it self; Hiding under the *cloak of Piety* such *wicked designs* as open *prophaneness* was never found *to bring about.* Nor doth *Reason* or *experience* afford better means to devest this mask, than by restoring *Love* and *Charity* to their antient Splendor, And rendring them only the *marks of confidence* and *waies to preferments:* the sense of *Honour* having been found alone more conducing to *Fidelity*, than the bare forms of an over precise Zeal in the company of *Covetousness*, with which at this day more are thought to converse than suits with the honour of their *Profession* or safety of the *State*, to whom I recommend a timely *reformation* of these pretending *Reformers* of all but *themselves.*

Controversies weakly handled, prejudice the Truth.

50. If *Lucian* found cause to upbraid the ordinary *Scribes* in his days, for owning more *Knowledge* and *Piety* to their *Gods* in their *supercilious aspect*, and spurious *censures* of others, than they were really masters of themselves: what may we judge of the no less *Hypocritical* than *Theatrical* over-actings in ours; Where it is ordinary with Men to bear the impress in their *Foreheads* and *looks* (like *Mountebanks Bills*) of *more Sanctity*, than the most exact Observer can note in their *Lives* or *Commerce.* Who fill those rooms, *Swearing* and *Prophanness* was wont to take up in *Taverns* and *Plays*, with more Blasphemous and uncharitable *Censures* and *Imprecations* in the *Church*, against any judgement

judgement looking a ſquint upon theirs, though in things meerly *Philoſophical*, and undetermined. Nor are their *Books* free from the *leaven* of *Hypocriſie* and *Malice*, eſpecially if not able to anſwer the *Spirit of Reaſon*, he they oppoſe is *armed withal*, nor the people willing upon their bare warrant to ſtone the contrary party, for then, like painted *Jezabel*, the lively image of an *Hypocrite*, they Proclaim him a *Blaſphemer* againſt *God* & the *King*: Forgetting, that though a State may be *indamaged* through the *diſcovery* of an *Error*, *God* and *Nature* are not *gratified* in the *perſecution* of *Truth*. Yet theſe *Anti-Veritarians* are ſuch profeſſed Antagoniſts to all the moſt probable new Ideas in *Philoſophy* or *Reaſon*, not hitherto ſcru'd up to the *higheſt pitch*; and in the mean time advancers of *Enthuſiaſms* in *Religion*, *Known* through the mercy and ſufferings of *Chriſt* to be long ſince ſufficiently *revealed*; That with the *Red Dragon in the wilderneſs*, they ſeek to *deſtroy* both *Parent* and *Child*: Of which failing they *vomit* out *a floud* of inſignificant words and reproaches againſt them, to the diſcouragemeut and Obſtructing all future indeavours. *Wiſdom, like water in a Well, not exceeding an ordinary height, till pumped or allured* by *Emulation* or *Honour*. Nor is there a more probable way to ſtop the mouths of theſe railing *Shimei*'s that *curſe* and *caſt dirt* upon thoſe *Davids* which labour to quell Ignorance, the *uncircumciſed Philiſtine* of the world, than by appointing all *Books of Controverſies* to be garbled, and if found not ſtrong enough for their *Adverſary*

ſary, to reſtrain them from *ſilence* cannot prejudice *Truth* comparably to an over *weak defence*, Manifeſt in *Religion*, and if maturely conſidered as *palpable* in *Philoſophy*. Yet theſe bold *attachers of wits* do at firſt gain ſuch *credit* with *ordinary Readers*, upon a preſumption they durſt not aſſault theſe *excellent Spirits* but in an aſſurance of *greater Illuminations* of their own; that they buy their *Books* through which *Ignorance* becomes incouraged and *Knowledge* depraved, by a diſcovery of ſmall faults and perverting the ſenſe of more excellent things. And thus *Fools* fall into eſteem for noting the *blemiſhes* in *wiſe men*, and *they* accompted *ſimple*, for wanting that *abſolute perfection* no waies attainable in this world. The *Students of Reaſon* in our days lying under the heavy fate the *Mathematicians* did of old, in being thought *Conjurers* and *Atheiſts*; an indictment I doubt not but the more *refined Judgement*, if not of this Age, of the next, will acquit the one of, as clear, as it hath the other. Wherefore in caſe of ſuch purblinded *Cenſurers*, make them rather the objects of *Scorn* than *Anger* or *Reproof*. Such *carping natures* reſembling *Dogs*, more incouraged and better gratifi'd by the ſharpeſt *anſwer*, than none at all; upon which they commonly give over, or meet with a fouler blow from a ſtander-by, and one never thought of, than you may decently give in your own Cauſe.

51. All things quadrating with *Interest* or *Affection*, though in their own Natures *wicked* and *unjust*, do labour to be furnished with such *fair pretences*, as may paliate the *throws* of *Conscience*: which through use becomes able with the *Stomach* to convert *Poyson* into *Nourishment*, and the most *enormous Sins* and *Cruelties* into *comliness and zeal*. Interest never unfurnished of *fair* pretences, or *suborning* Conscience.

52. No *security* can be given or taken either *single* or *reciprocal* between the *Prince* and *people* but an *Oath*; held, in all *Professions*, *sacred*, and its breach of dreadful consequence, Till the *Pope*, arrogating the absolute power of *Christs high Chancellour upon earth*, did dispence (under the notion of *Equity*, *Justice* and *necessity*) with the *breach of* all *Laws*, both *Civil* and *Divine*, (amongst which *Perjury* is Inclusive) and so from an undeniable Inference, *Religion* it self, superscribed by our blessed *Saviour* within this narrow Circuit of *Love to God and our Neighbour*, on every side invaded through *this high violation of Faith*; *no less destructive to the Consciencious than impotent*, *and only advantagious to Princes and Subjects liquorish after Profit and Soveraignty*: who, by reason of a vaster power are able to perpetuate the the greater mischiefs, and so most likely to *be aimed at* by God in his first Institution of *this most sacred bond*, in which *his own name* and *honour* is made the *pledge*: And Therefore his patient passing the *breach* of it by in this world raiseth no less *confidence* in the Oaths *become* Traps *of the Innocent*, *where* Conscience is unthroned.

the *Atheist* that he shall never be punished, than *assurance* in the *Godly* his *Reward* is not to be expected upon *Earth*.

The *Netherlands* after their *Revolt*, framed *an Oath for the whole League*, wherein all those formerly taken to the King *of Spain*, were without exception or any manner of qualification Abjured: by which I could understand no less when I read it, but that they *called God himself to attest*, that *his name was become of no validity*. Which to speak plain *English*, was as much as *to forswear all opinion of Religion or sanctity in swearing*. I do not think my Judgement of an extent large enough to span the height of such an *Impiety* as a *National* or *Regal Perjury* extends to, No more than the temporal *mischief* it may bring to a *Commonwealth*, by giving Subjects an occasion to think the articles of *Faith*, virtually inclusive in an *Oath*, are of no more validity, than *Interest*, through the mediation of *power*, is pleased to afford them. Yet it may imbolden me to believe, that those *learned* amongst the *Catholicks* do not with us look upon *Conscience* as *a distinct quality or Natural Indowment of man*, but meerly *acquired by Customs at* the mediation of *shame* or *Loss*, which upon the working or boyling of the *Memory*, is taught to approve *This*, or dislike That, according to the esteem *the Opinion of the place*, & *company* they most commonly converse with, are pleased to rate it at: *the smallest morsel of flesh taken into the stomach upon a fasting day clogging it more, than a whole armful of*

that

that which is more ſinful doth in a bed. Nor are they leſs troubled at the *memory* of *loſſes* and *apprehenſion* of *Dangers*, than *Offences* againſt *God*; The which do not ſeldom produce far *greater agonies* and *deſpairs*: The *blood* of *ten Men in Italy* being digeſted with leſs reluctancy, than the *glance of a Rivals eye.* Wherefore we may *Imagine*, they do really believe no ſuch thing, but look upon *Conſcience* not only as *a Room in the Memory*, that ſtood empty till *the Fall*, but a meer *bubble* in the *Imagination*, which *Fear* and *Hope* by the aſſiſtance of *Uſe*, can *blow* like a *glaſs* in what *faſhion* or *bigneſs* they pleaſe, ſhewing there, to the *Life* repreſented, good or bad according to the *tincture* a former ſuborned paſſion may have *dipped* them in: And this (wiſely viewed) will be found of no more ſolid ſubſtance, or drawn by no ſteadier hand than *Cuſtom* or *Education*, nor ſet in a more durable frame than that of *Fantacy*. And from this *undervaluing of Conſcience* (the *ſecurity* of the *good* and *terror* of the *wicked*,) the *validity of Oaths* is loſt, or converted into *traps* to catch the *Innocent* and *unadviſed.*

53. *Conſcience* is no leſs ſway'd through particular *Intereſt*, than the reſt of *paſſions* or *accidents* incident to *Memory*. Manifeſt in our *Henry the eight*, perhaps no more guilty than all Princes elſe, who at his *Death* looked upon the delivering *Empſon* and *Dudly* (Inſtruments of his own and Fathers *Oppreſſion*) to the fury of the people, as a *Sin* of

where Conſcience *is ſway'd by* Intereſt, *there is no true judgement of either* Faults *or* Merit.

of a deeper tincture, than the number of *Murdered persons* his *Remembrance* could not but at that time present him with. From whence we may conclude our selves in nothing more apt to be abused, than in the calculation of *our own Faults* and *Merits*: And so, *much unlikely to give a just estimate of those belong to others.*

Difference of Judgement a wrong ground or alienation of affection.

54. *How dareſt thou (O Man!) Judge another?* carrieſt ſuch an awful ſound in my apprehenſion, as I cannot but tremble at the general boldneſs, One *Profeſſion* takes to condemn another: ſo as none lie capable of *Salvation* under an univerſal conſent. This *Church* Anathematizing what the next receives; which cannot but proceed from the more damnable root of *uncharitableneſs*; every where *Condemned* throughout all *Religions* extant. Though *equally culpable* in impoſing a reſtraint upon every way to *Heaven*, but what *cuſtom* and *education* hath rendred familiar to themſelves; each being really, or in their ſuborned Imaginations ſuppoſed able to detect *Error* and *Abſurdity* in all *divine worſhip* beſide their own. Wherefore this *humour* being *univerſal*, if not *natural*, it ought to cut off all *particular Feuds*, and mitigate the rigor of *Law*, and ſeverity of every reſpective *Prince*; who can only juſtifie (and that perhaps rather to his particular convenience, than the Deities univerſal mercy) the raiſing a *perſecution* upon no higher provocation than *Opinion*, in no mans power to rectifie, but upon a manifeſt *conviction of his Judgement.*

Now

Now since it is no prodigy in the *Schools*, for two *Disputants* to quarrel about one and the same thing, hid from them only through the nicety of *Distinctions*, why may not such *Protestants*, as measure the *Catholick Profession* by the ordinary standard of the *Court of Rome*, take, not only a *false*, but an *uncharitable survey*, and too far to the disadvantage of that *Church*, which hath professed *Christianity* ever since the *Apostles* time, and may look no more as *Canonical* upon all the *Pope* for his *Honour* and *Profit* maintains, than we take for *legal* every Injunction that passeth from the *King* or *Council-Tables*, many *Ceremonies* being admitted for *order*, *splendor*, and *decency*, (which, under correction, I may say, cannot be spared in less Corporations) that are *not essential* to *Salvation*, and conceived of no more validity, than what they receive from the Inspiration of *power*; wherefore *meerly local*, and of no larger extent than *his Holiness Authority* doth naturally, or is suffered through the indulgence of *Princes* to reach. Nor doth the redundant *zeal* of our *English Papists* (not to give it a coarser Epithete) deserve less pity than admiration, through which they are so far blinded, as not to see the *Popes Supremacy* concerns them no more in point of *Salvation*, than it did the Subjects of *England* heretofore, *whether a Lord spiritual or temporal should pass the door first*. It being unpossible but such punctilio's at the beginning should result from humane institution or connivance of Kings, from whose benevolence or igno-

The redundant zeal of the Papists to be pitied and admired.

rance those *Appellations*, and that *Power* reached to the *Bishop of Rome*, and not from *him* whose *Vicar* he pretends to be; our *Saviour Christ* owning no such *Jurisdiction* or extent of Earthly power. It is confessed, I should look upon that *Englishman* as a *betrayer* of the *honour* of our *Nation*, that denies the *Kings claim* to *France*, because his *Ancestors* once had it in Possession. Yet did I own Land and a Being there, it were a high *folly*, if not *Treason* to maintain it upon the place: The *Title* having possibly as justly reverted to them again, as it was at first assumed by us. Yet such power hath the present *fear* of loling their interest in *future felicity*, that it doth not only stifle the sense of *Reason* and *Concernment*, but the apprehension of *Martyrdom* it self, which might altogether inform them, that since the *Bishop of Rome* converseth not here suitable to our *Saviour*, who was so far *from disposing* of Earthly *Kingdoms*, as he refused to divide a particular *Inheritance*, *Interest* may not unpossibly lead him out of the way in other things: For though an *Infallibility* should be granted him, in what relates to the *Church*, 'tis more than the Cardinals themselves will admit in what is purely *Civil*. It being none of the Articles of our *Creed*, that *Christ* was *an earthly Prince*, or had any other *Soveraignty over Kings*, but as *God over all*. Yet since this misled people received no advantage of their *errours*, as some more hypocritical *Schismaticks* may be imagined to do, it cannot but raise *pity* in you towards them, and *charity*

to

to your self, in case Fortune should cast you in any region under the *Popes Jurisdiction*: who owning a *temporal Power* no less than a *spiritual*, may not unpossibly punish in more Prudence than you can suffer. Wherefore, leaving behind you all *Obstinacy* and *prejudice*, consider whether the *Sign of the Cross* may not with more Piety be admitted, than *Baptism* wholly neglected, or the *Bread* in the *Sacrament* only taken, rather than that *Seal of our Covenant* quite omitted. Yet I desire you to look upon all is said under the notion of *an Advice*, not *a Command*.

55. I hold in *Charity* no less than *Commerce* with *all sorts of people*, that do *acknowledge a Divine and universal providence*: But *abominate* those that have the *Impudence*, no less than the *Indiscretion to deny it*, *openly* in their *words*, or *tacitely* in their *actions*; as such cannot but be thought to do, that destroy others under a pretence of *Sanctity*, meerly to enrich themselves; who *deny God* no less in *his Justice*, than the other in *his Power*. Since without a *Creator*, Man must be the product of a *Contingency*, together with all things extant, *if not the maker of himself*; or, which is *as prodigious*, an Absurdity, *Nothing*, *out of its own strength*, *must have produced all things*. Nor could so many descend into this *low and damnable errour*, were they not led by that common Calculation incident to the Creature, *through which* each in its respective gradation, is rendred out of ignorance *unable*, or out of pride *unwilling*,

The Conclusion, exploding Atheism.

unwilling to find a *ſublimer excellency* than his own. The cauſe, not only that *the vertues* but *the Gods* themſelves were by the *Heathen* repreſented in *Humane ſhapes*, and *their inclinations* confined to the ſame *Sins* and *Paſſions* mortals are found ſubject to. It exceeding the largeſt extent in Nature to comprehend a *higher wiſdom* than its own, or to aſſign it *a more honourable aſpect*, or furniſh it with *richer Indowments*, than her ſenſes and experience *hath adorned Fanſie withal.* The *Devil* being painted as *white* amongſt the *Negroes*, as he is *black* here. Wherefore *knowledge* being at a *non plus* (*a thing ſhe doth naturally abhor*) many, becauſe they cannot decipher a Reaſon, *why Providence in this world appears ſo oft in the Favour* (to our ſeeming) *of wicked and unjuſt deſigns, and ſo far diſcourages the good, as to leave them in the hands of their oppreſſors*, they, like inconſiderate *Sea-men*, do cut the *Cable of Hope*, and forſaking the *Anchor* of *Providence*, reſign the conduct of all things to *Fortune*, who is yet ſo *conſtant* in her *viciſſitudes* (familiar to *Gameſters*) that in *a ſmall time* ſhe doth not only take away, but returns to every man his *money* again. And if the World hath, for ought we know to the contrary, been till this Age ignorant in *the Circulation of the blood*, though *the principle Engine of Life*, and ſuch a neceſſary one, as every Creature moves not without, why ſhould we rob *our ſelves* of the *Comfort*, and *God* of the *honour* of *Managing* whatſoever happens, though yet ignorant of the *manner* and *reaſon* of his doing it, which hereafter we ſhall

ſee

ſee revealed: the *Age of man* being *too ſhort* to diſcover every *ſpoke* in this *wheel*, that may within a ſpan or two be twiſting the deſtruction of thoſe that are now at the *top*. Nor can any man gheſs how another fares by an outward aſpect taken from his Moveables, but muſt ſleep with him and enter his boſom, which *God* doth; and can no doubt by *ſlacking* of *Grief* in one, and *winding up Fears* and *Jealouſies* in another, make the World even. It being the *Spring* and intrinſick *part* of the *Watch* that the *Workman* looks after, and not the *Caſe*, though it may poſſibly be *gold*, or ſome richer Materials, which *the Rabble* do uſually caſt their eyes upon, as *Children do on the Lord Major's Pageants*; admiring the *ſplendor* of thoſe that *ride* in them, who conſidered in their own nature are but *mean* mens Iſſue, and thus adorned at the *City coſt*: yet their *external varniſh* doth ſo obſtruct the Organs of Senſe, as they do not perceive the *pooreſs* of the *people that bear them up*, no more than how long they may be *able*, or found *willing* to do it. And if men cannot, by a ſerious reflection upon their own affairs, *diſtinguiſh* the *operations* of *Providence* from thoſe of *Contingency*; yet ſince it is *the moſt univerſal Opinion*, and for ought ever I could hear objected to the contrary, the leaſt obſtructed from *Reaſon* or *Conſent*, *That every Creature holds its Production*, no leſs than Preſervation, at the will of an *Omnipotency*, by us ſtiled *God*; Though the *ways how he operates be beyond our fathom*, *and paſt finding out*, why ſhould not *credulity* reſt

at the *brink* of this *Abyss* (by all acknowledged the *least dangerous*) rather than hazard all *hope* of *future beatitude*, in the *uncomfortable Gulf* of a *wretchless Atheism*. There remaining as *little visible loss* to such as award all *honour* to our *Maker*, as *gain* for those that *deny him* quite. Nor are we bereaved totally of the shadow of *Omniscienoie*; since from a far lower situation than *Heaven*, we are able at one glance to over-look a *whole City*, and by a single *Trumpet* to Alarum an *Army*. Yet our *senses* are capable to receive no small *augmentation* from the assistance of *Art*: an Infallible argument that the perfection of these *qualities* doth not determine in the person of any Creature; but something *paramount* all that hath yet risen within the compass of our Experience, it being *unpossible but a superlative perfection should rest some where*. Nor can we be competent *Judges* of the *motions* of *God* that have nothing to *measure* by but *Sense*, much too weak to discern the *motion of a shadow*, or the growth of a *Plant*, till Time hath rendred them apparent: wherefore far unable to comprehend the *Lines of Providence*, Imperceptible to every *Intelligence* but his who hath the sole disposure of all things. It not being *probable* Man should comprehend the *out-goings* of *God*, whilest he is not able to give any *Reason* for *his own*.

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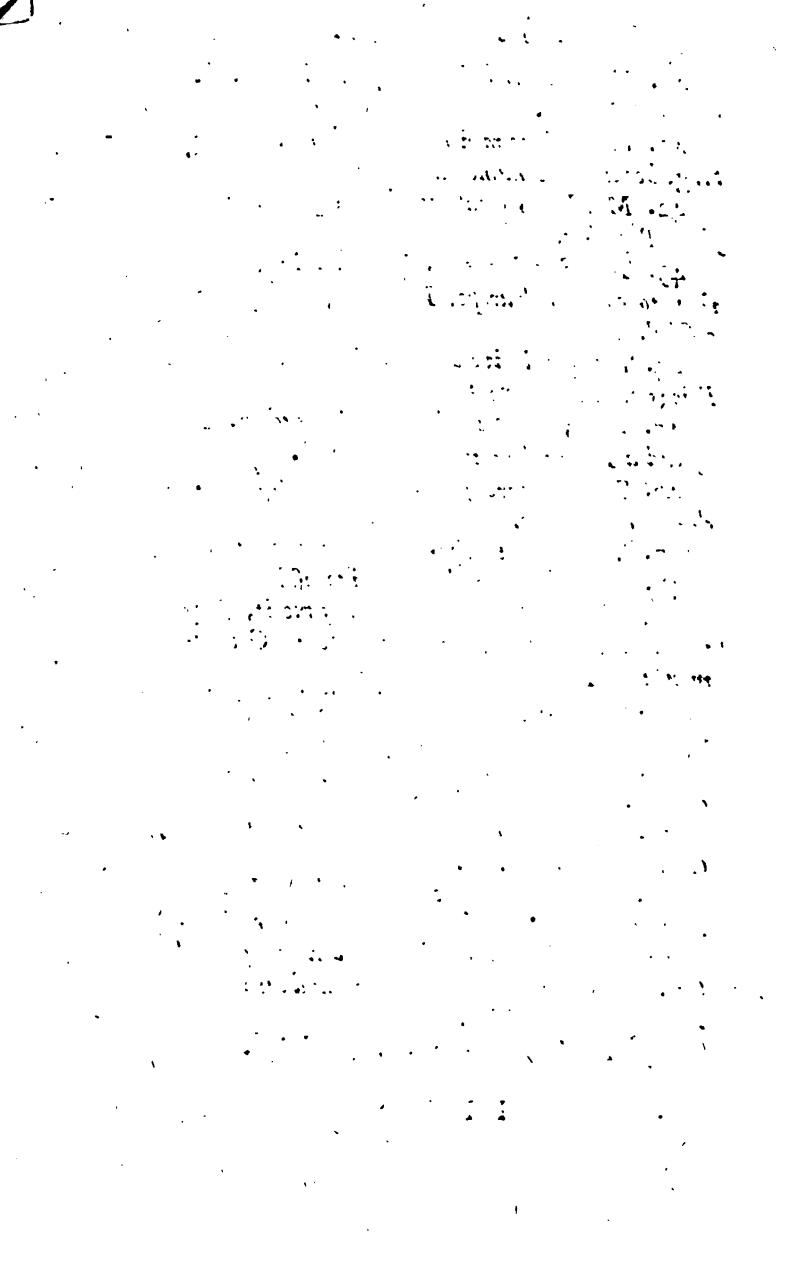

Political Reflections

UPON

THE GOVERNMENT

OF THE

TURKS.

Nicholas Machiavel. The King of *Swedens* Descent into *Germany.* The Conspiracie of *Pisq* and *Vindex* against *Nero.* The Greatness and Corruption of the Court of *Rome.* The Election of Pope *Leo* the XI. The Defection from the Church of *Rome.* *Martin Luther.*

By FRANCIS OSBORN Esq;

LONDON,

Printed in the Year, 1673.

TO THE
READER.

SInce our blessed *Saviour* draws a Precedent for *Prudence*, from the unjust deportment of a wicked *Steward*; and recommends to his followers the *Subtilty of Serpents*, with a no less Emphasis than the *Innocencie of Doves*; I trust (in this Juncture when the Prest groans to be delivered of the burden she sustains from their more seditious and prophane Off-spring, who desire to foment War, and *Christian Magistrates* reckon their Subjects *Disobedience* in the heaviest *Item*, they account for with God, in their solemn *Humiliations*;) I shall not be the worse esteemed by men judicious and moderate, for taking some choice *Observations* out of the Turkish *Arcana*, which garbled and weighed according to the true ballance of the *Sanctuary*, may not impossibly mind those at the Helm of *Expedients* more proper for *Unity*, than have yet been employed among *Christians*: where though *Christ*

be

be owned under the greateſt demonſtration of *Self-denial*, yet *Uncharitableneſs* abounds, and leſs awful *Obedience* is given to Gods Vice-gerents in Chriſtian Common-wealths, than the Apoſtle *Paul* did award to Infidels. Nor doth the *Church*, ſet in the Firmament of Regality for the Luminary and direction of all Subjection due to our heavenly and earthly Guides, keep to her proper Sphere, if, from a *Medium* betwixt us and our Maker, ſhe becomes a ſtickler in things purely belonging to the Magiſtrate, our Obedience, like that of the Catholicks, muſt ſtill ſtagger betwixt two Supremes; It being impoſſible for the beſt or worſt of Governours to be longer in quiet, than ſhe is pleaſed to permit them: And, this apprehended by ſome (better fitted and reſolved for the diſcovery of Errors, than able or willing to mend them) they conclude, all the miſchiefs ariſing through the loud fulminations, the ſpirit of Contention hath, or may have, darted out of the Pulpit, flow from the Riches and Splendour of the Clergy, that upon a more ſerious account may be laid to the abuſe and ill-admiration of their Office and Power, which duly regulated, is the wholſomeſt Flower in the Crown of Government; in out-

reaching

reaching the ken of Example to find a State happy, where the *Priesthood* is exposed to the Peoples *contempt*, or Religion suffered to be weighed at the common Beam; which must needs happen, where their *Maintenance* is scandalous, and their *Persons* despicable, or not vigorously protected by the hand of Authority; to whom they do, or at least might bring Obedience, without putting it to the trouble of reward or punishment. Nor would the *Laity* so much grumble at the payment of *Tithes*, were they wise enough to weigh the great advantage they have through the *Churches* dependance on their welfare, which would be quite lost, did their *maintenance* drop out of the immediate hand of the *Prince*, as it doth among the *Turks*; who are too well read in Policy, to break or dismember so useful an Engine, because it may or might, for want of Circumspection, have bruised the fingers of those it ought to preserve. But if this points at any prejudice in Church or State, I am resolved to remain no obstinate Heretick, but to cast it at the feet of the same Authority, Providence hath set me under, and for whose sake I first took it up. And this I hope will satisfie the *wise Reader*; but for *Critical Fools*, the ordinary sort of

Book-

Book-worms, who, like Iron-moles, diſcolour the ſenſe and obliterate the natural meaning of Authors, by their ſpurious and tart Cenſures; eſteeming nothing fit to paſs current, that hath not deſcended from their Anceſtors, whoſe fouleſt blots they paint over with fairer Gloſſes than they can find colour for in the general Ignorance (ſome few Pens excepted) that did then bleer the underſtandings of Subjects, extending in the mean time the no leſs innocent, if not more uſeful modern endeavours upon the cruel rack of a ſevere Scrutiny, till ſome pretext is found for to ground detraction upon: This I ſay, cannot diſcourage me from proſecuting what Conſcience informs me may advance *Settlement*, who have long been taught, that the way lies to the Paradiſe of *Peace*, through the Purgatory of *Cenſure*, which all muſt expect to find their Sails filled with, that ſteer contrary to the current of *Antiquity*, imagined only by idle Dunces, to have pinned the Basket: For ſince this Age hath the uſe of their Plat-forms, and the ſame Tools, it lies not in my Cap to apprehend, why it may not operate as well and wiſely. To conclude, ſuch as have, or do hereafter modeſtly proſecute a farther revelation of Knowledge,

ledge, ought not to be discouraged, or unwillingly imploy their Talents, as many do that come betrayed to the Press, or led more by Friends Importunity, than their own Genius: For though their Contemporaries serve them as the *Jews* did the *Prophets*, yet when Death hath laid them out of the reach of Envy and personal Contempt, Posterity shall not only commiserate the Cruelty of that neglect they lay under in their life time, but build Monuments to their Immortal Fame.

S THE

THE TURKISH POLICY: OR, OBSERVATIONS UPON THE Government of the TURKS.

NOt to aſcend the higheſt ſtep of the *Turkiſh Pedigree*, (whoſe primitive *Actions*, no leſs than thoſe of the *Goths*, lie buried in the Rubbiſh their huge *Vaſtation* have formerly made through the *Eaſtern Empire*, and ſince in that of the *Weſt*, upon the ſcore of whoſe eternal reproach, they keep their Roval Port in the Emperial City:) I ſhall only obſerve the prudent *Deportment of Mahumet* (owned by all for their *Founder*) without taking more notice of his or their extraction, than what may ſerve to illuſtrate the following Diſcourſe, projected rather to delineate the wiſe *Track* he hath chalked out to his Succeſſors, and what exact followers they

have been of it (which few have done) than the Deeds themſelves, uſually found ſcored at the end of every ſtreet. Though I believe, with great partiality, and many omiſſions, in relation to the ſhame and terrour they have brought upon *Chriſtendom* (through the diviſion of whoſe Princes they have attained this grandure) the Fate of their Atchievements, who want *Pens* of their own to regiſter their *Stories*; in which this *Emperour*, no leſs than his Succeſſors, have been ſtill defective: Yet he that conſiders what hath followed, cannot take it for an hyperbole, to ſay, the main *difference* between *Alexander*, *Ceſar*, and *Mahumet*, conſiſts in a *Feather*, or the *Quill* of a *Gooſe*.

2. He had the happineſs to ſet up under a moſt auſpicious *juncture*, the greateſt Politicians then extant, being more imployed in molding an *Eccleſiaſtical Monarchy*, and mending the *Rents* the *Schiſmaticks* of thoſe Times had made in the *Church*, than in improving any temporal Power, or raiſing Banks that might ſtop ſuch an innundation, as ſo great a Snowball was likely to cauſe upon the face of that Earth, wherever it came to refund.

3. His *Followers* were owners of no vaſter *Underſtandings* than might render them pliable to *Labour* and *Diſcipline*: Who being of a bruitiſh and wild imployment, did not only undergo the *hardſhip of War*, but were ready to yield all awful Obedience to ſuch marks of *Worſhip*, or religious Obſervations, as he was pleaſed to impreſs upon their yet unſuborned ima-

imaginations: Not ſo eaſily obtained from *acuter heads*, who are apt to pretend a ſufficiency in determining the truth or falſhood of that, Authority hath allotted for an unqueſtioned Creed: The more to be avoided by all *new Legiſlators*, becauſe known ſo pernicious to eſtabliſhed Common-wealths and Monarchies, as the *promoters of Sedition*, are ſeldom found to take Horſe at any other block than what they perceive the People apteſt to ſtumble at, in relation to *Gods Worſhip*. No *Colony* having been obſerved for to dilate it ſelf, that held not at leaſt ſo long conſtant to *one Profeſſion in Religion*, till Time and Succeſs had eſtated them in a power able to reſiſt any Enemy; by nothing eaſier brought about than a confident *Report of ſome Miracle*, which once rivetted into the Opinion of the People, by Cuſtom and Education, cannot after be removed, without the hazard of all. This made him profeſs a daily *Commerce with Angels*, and pretend the terrible *Fits* incident to his *Diſeaſe*, as *holy extaſies*, in which *God* did mind him of the way and means how to lead his People. And according to this Pattern, a *Law* was founded, ſo ſuitable to the higheſt Taſte of humane Senſuality, and obvious to a carnal apprehenſion, that it was ſwallowed by this Rabble for the undoubted and pure *Will of God*, and he looked upon for his moſt holy *Prophet*. To the advancement of which *Belief* their *Ignorance* did mainly contribute, found by experience, the ſtrongeſt aſſertor of what ſhe confidently believes, though in it ſelf never ſo improbable. And after ſome

farther commerce had throughly eſtated their Conſciences in this perſwaſion, they grew zealous, that is affectionate, and deſirous to propagate where ever they came, ſuch Opinions as their Governours had contracted them to, out of no higher ſanctity at firſt, than to keep them entire and chaſte in their worldly obedience.

4. Neither were the Proſelytes of this *new Prophet* checked, in the earneſtneſs of their purſuit after *Empire*, by the confluence of *contrary Accidents*, and the number of *rubs* the unſteady hand of ſo contingent a War, could not chooſe but caſt daily in their way; but the more enflamed, as taking them rather for incitements to further cruelties towards others, than any ſtop to the unjuſt encroachments they made upon the Principalities of their Neighbours; looked upon by them as Enemies to God, and ſo, like the *Canaanites*, fit only to be eradicated, for the better eaſe and advantage of themſelves. Or if any *croſs event* was apprehended relating to them, they put it off as if it only concerned their *Remiſſneſs* in the intended *Work of the Lord*, which was to ſpoil others, and enrich themſelves. This abates the wonder of their Victories, who have the Art to draw encouragement from the beſt or worſt of ſucceſſes: For through the clathing of theſe *contrary events*, *Mahumet* kindled ſuch a blind Zeal amongſt their over-heated Ignorance, as it conſumed all before them, without the leaſt conſideration had of things ſacred or prophane.

5. And

9. And to preserve this child of his Ambition, from being stifled in the swadling cloaths, through an over-laying of Neighbours, (who were called in prudence to the crushing of such designs, had they not been rendred deaf by the janglings between the *Greek* and *Latine* Churches) *he gathers the chiefest ingredients of his Institutes out of the Gardens, both of the Jewish and Christian Religion:* leaving his Sectarists in gross, to their more loose and acceptable primitive *Heathenism*; inlisting few Novelties but what respected his own person, which he doth not stile a God, though he arrogates to himself a Supremacie over all his Prophets.

6. Yet did he not only forbid the use of *Images*, as may be thought, in imitation of *Moses* (who by that bred such a hatred in the *Jews* against all Nations, as hath kept a considerable part of them from mingling to this day) but out of as deep a Reason of State, in relation to continuance: Since it is impossible, if a Nation once attains an universal prudence, but that the deceitful *knack* of such a carnal adoration must needs grow loathsom, or lie obvious to their Reproof, that shall make it their full employment to find faults; and after an opportunity is easily gained, to foment a change by discovering to the people *absurdities* in their *Worship*; which is better prevented in one directed, as his is, to the only invisible and omnipotent *Creator*, whose Nature and Power is so far remote from the weak apprehensions of men, as the sharpest reason is

not able to batter a Faith built solely upon it.

7. And by this prudent Election, he hath so far prevailed against the corruption of *Innovation* (a Rust all other Professions have contracted in less time) as no considerable *Schism* hath yet broke out amongst them: For that between the *Turk* and *Persian*, lies rather in the *Genealogie of their Prophets*, than the body of the Belief he first founded. At such time, lest Novelty and want of Proof should detect him too apparently, he takes *Abraham* into his Party, whom he owns for the Father of himself and his Followers; giving a no less honorable Character of *Christ* and his Mother, to please the *Christians*, than of *Moses* to amuse the *Jews*; yet hath no milder design than the destruction of them both: And by this universal *compliance*, he rendred his detestable *Errors* more glib to the wide swallow of that *Ignorance* the world did then gape withal; The cause his Doctrine was embraced by as unquestioned a Belief, as that of the *Jew* or *Christian*, whom they look upon as owners of more improbable Opinions than theirs, and less tending to the honour of that universal Goodness which respects the profit and well-being of his Creatures.

8. In relation to whom the *Turks Sabbath*, no less than the *Jews*, was without doubt instituted, to give a comfortable relaxation to the poor *Beast*, as well as *Slaves*, whom *Moses* observed to lead a life in *Ægypt* worse than death it self. Therefore he derives the Institution of the *Sabbath*, from the mouth of God,

God, to be of no leſs Antiquity than the Creation. And on this day men were ſuffered to do no labour, but to keep a *holy reſt unto the Lord*: by which a *Terrour* was ſtrook into the contemners of the *Law*, and a great *Love* and mutual *Confidence* infuſed among *Neighbours*, no ſmall promoters of Conqueſt; ſuch ſtanding cloſeſt in time of danger as are of neareſt relations in Religion and Friendſhip. Beſides, theſe *Weekly Meetings* do much civilize a Nation, ſatisfying no leſs the minds of the *zealous*, than they moderate the Paſſions of the *Factious* and *Diſobedient*, by the great allay received from the ſolemn *Devotion* obſervable in their *Prieſts*, who uſe ſuch humble proſtrations, and catching *Ceremonies*, in the exerciſe of their *Divine Rights* (which yet admit of no ſcandal, becauſe proſecuted in ſuit of no *Repreſentation*, but to the imploring of the only omnipotent God, in whoſe ſervice all things are to be imployed) as ſuch are terrified into an *Obedience* of the *Law*, out of a future *Fear*, that could not elſe be reſtrained by a preſent ſecular danger, or after-hope; Imagining a number of poſſibilities to hide that from *Men*, which nothing is able to cover from the ſight of *God*.

9. Of ſuch vaſt concernment is a grave and prudent *Clergy* to well-being, though of late much ſlighted among ſome ſort of *Chriſtians*, not ſo wiſe as to obſerve that *the Eye* for the moſt part, *is caught before the Heart*; and that *Auſterity* and *Reverence* in external Worſhip (if deveſted of all advantages elſe) cannot be denied

to

to have a huge operation upon *Obedience* to the *Civil Magistrate*. It being unlikely, that such as take *Decency in Divine Worship* for Idolatry, should not soon be worn out of *Reverence* to their Governors, since the most destructive *Parity* begins always in the *Church*.

10. No *Law* is more intent upon the *Honour* and *Profit of Monarchy*, than the *Turkish*: For though a *Monk* had a finger in the Pie, yet *Mahumet* was so skilful as to season it to his own palat. Neither were many *Christian Princes* less *absolute* at first, than he, till their Subjects by Money, Importunity, or Arms had moderated their power, which we do not find this Nation ever went about, *Servitude*, by Use, becoming a second Nature. But had their Ordinances, like ours, been voted by such a Composition of Estates, wherein the Priesthood had made the principal Ingredient, for Wisdom, if not Authority, it is very possible they might have more related to Religion: which, like the *Indian Fig-tree*, is of so vast an extent, as it hath been able, not only to harbour an Host of *Church-men*, but their Bag and Baggage, together with all the plunder they are able to make, by breaking the Hearts, and ransacking the more tender Consciences of *Dying men*; as is apparent in *Rome*, and might have been the same at *Mecca*, had he not prevented it by a choicer prudence, than our *Emperours* have formerly contributed to their affairs.

11. Nor is it a contemptible Paradox to maintain, that *the approach of Ruine in Slavery*

so

to a Nation, is visible at first in a too Rich or Meagre Face of the Church. That causing a *Consumption*, by sucking too much from the Estates and Power of the *Laity*, as *This* doth a *Feaver*, by putting all into a present hazard, under the destructive pretence of an over-heated zeal. The same counsel being necessary to all Princes, in relation to *Religion*, and the guiders of it, as *Phaeton* is said to receive from his Father, when he undertook the conduct of the *Horses of the Sun*; The *Church* being a *Flame* of that nature, that if it soar *too high*, it choaks Vertue and Sanctity in the superfluous *Ceremonies*, she is apt to produce; which like too much paint, adulterates the face of Truth: but if she be kept *too low*, it doth not only burn and consume all superfluous excrescencies, but *Decency and Order*; Allays, without which we can have no *Uniformity* in a Religious commerce: Since the *Mysteries of our Salvation* cannot be presented to us but in Earthen Vessels; from whence, if they did not retain some tincture, we could not so naturally own them as relating to us: Nay, an indiscreet *zeal* doth so far participate of the qualities of the Air overheated, that it hatcheth the Plagues of *Rebellion* where ever it is found, pretending their *Prince* negligent in *Religion*, or too exorbitant in his affection to *Court-Minions*, or an infringer of the *Law*, and obstructer of *Justice*; weapons of *Sedition*, easily forged if not found to lie ready before the Gates of the best of Kings; which subtil men snatch up, and put into the hands of such, as they have for-

formerly intoxicated with a deſire of *Reformation*, who ſeldom give over, till they meet their own ruine, or the States.

12. If *Mahumet* exceeded the Commiſſion of Diſcretion, in ſwelling his *Alcaron* to ſo large a Volume, (multiplicity of words breeding, in the ſame plenty, *Ambiguities*, among Divines as Lawyers:) Yet he proved againſt this inconvenience, with as much caution as a by-paſt error is capable to admit, in prohibiting the *Reading* of it to any but the *Prieſts*, and the *Interpretation* to all but the *Mufty*. For though the *Jews* were injoyned to ſcore the *Commandements* on the *Walls*, as they did wear them after written on their Clothes; yet none but the *High Prieſt* was ſuffered to enter into the *Holy of Holies*, or make any near approach into the innermoſt place of the *Temple*, from whence the *Oracles* did proceed.

13. Neither is it a ſlight occaſion of the *Turkiſh Unity*, that their *Alcaron* lies patent to the *Expoſition* of none but *their own Pope*: And that *Petitions* to *God* are frequenter made among them than *Exhortations* or *Sermons to the People*: Becauſe by the firſt they are humbled, through the repetition of their ſins and wants; and by the other, puffed up with the oſtentation of their good parts: Or, (if it may paſs in no worſe ſenſe than it is uttered) in *Praying* we beg ſomething of God we need; in *Preaching* he ſeems to demand Obedience from us, which no reaſonable creature will think he can want. To ſay truth, the *frequency* of *Preaching* (to avoid the tedious repe-

repetition of the ſame thing) hath created ſuch a *Familiarity* between us and our Makes, and a Feud againſt all that ſerve him not our way; as ſome take the boldneſs to predicate, He cannot do this or that, limiting his Mercy ſo far as to exclude from Salvation, not only the *Turks*, but all the reſt of the World; ſo ſmall a ſpot excepted, as a Fly may cover in an ordinary *Globe*. Do not theſe vain pleaders give the *Devil* more than (I hope) is his due? contrary to the verdict paſſed by God himſelf, who ſaith, *The Earth is the Lords, and all that therein is*; without excepting thoſe many and vaſt Territories, too happy, rich and fair, to be let out to the Prince of Darkneſs, by the great and magnificent Landlord of the World.

14. The whole ſcope of the more charitable *Turkiſh Doctrine*, concludes in theſe *Uſes*; The *Honour* of *God*, *Obedience* to their *Prince*, *Mutual Love*, *Reſolution* in *War*, with an invincible *Patience* in bearing all Terreſtrial wants; The laſt, as a Hoop compaſſing the reſt, by which they are rendred the righteſt Veſſels againſt Sedition, and the apteſt to retain all things neceſſary to compliance in Government.

15. Yet, the more to ſtrengthen this tie upon the Subject, all hope of perfect *Happineſs in this World* is ſuppreſſed, and their Imaginations wholly engaged on that which is to come: By this, the fear of lapſing into groſſer *Idolatry*, or profounder *Atheiſm*, is prevented; being bred only in expectation of *Miſery here*, and

and so more guilty than sensible of that ridiculous folly *David* so much upbraids them with, that consume time in the service of *Gods that have neither Eyes to see, Ears to hear*, nor Wills to help such as pray to them: For this Stupidness once found in that we have been taught to make the *Object of our Worship*, and joyning forces with the *Afflictions*, that do ordinarily attend the Best, and the *Blessings* not observed to baulk the most Impious; This, I say, doth often hurry such as have had their hopes deluded, or adjourned beyond the extent of a small Faith, into wretchless *Infidelity*, or which is worse, a low and despicable opinion of their *Maker*; avoided by the *Mahumetans*, who look for no remoter *causes of Afflictions*, than what result from personal miscarriages, or the will of those in Authority; assigning their Maker an higher imployment than the attending or accomplishing our earthly desires, which if attained, they might possibly hinder us from greater in *Heaven*, to which this World is but a troublesom and dark passage. Nor can the *Turks* prevarications upon a most partial Scrutiny, bear that stress of wickedness the more feared Consciences of some *Christians* do daily endure, manifest in the *French Massacre*; the foulness of which Story hath not yet been matched by *Mahumet*, or any of his Disciples, never found to have born such bitter fruit.

But not to insist upon the Equity or Reason of their *Law*, it gives them (as the Priests manage it) a satisfactory pretence, to esteem all ways

ways decent and consonant to Religion, that are able or likely to enlarge their Empire: Not questioning the *Quarrel* no more than the future happiness of such souls, as have the Fate to expire in it. And if upbraided herewith, they desire the *Pope* to Catechize his most Catholick Son, how he came by *Portugal*, *Naples*, *Milan*, *Sicily*, &c. And what warrant is he able to produce from *the Avenger of Blood*, that might authorize him to shed that Ocean he let out in *America*, upon no more serious occasion than Gold, and the Conversion of the People into Slaves to dig it? Can there be a rankter blasphemy offered against the Lord of Hosts than to set up his *Standard* in so vast and sanguine a field of Ambition; and the *Cross* of his Son in a greater *Golgotha* than that wherein he was crucified? And all this under pretence of *Religion*, as if God were less jealous of the honor of his Church, than the *Priests* were of their *Temple*, into the Verge of which they would not admit the price of blood; much less then can the Judge of all things accept the persons of those that sited it.

16. The *awfulness* the *Turks* bear to *the Name of God* is so great, that they dare not imploy the paper wherein they find it written to any base office, but leave it hid in a hole to the farther disposure of the Owners providence; and therefore possibly not so likely as *Christians* (who observe no such decency) to call it to the witness of an untruth; much to the *advantage of Governors* there, as it might be in *Christendom*, did Custom or Law screw the peoples minds up so as high

high an esteem of it. Neither would this lessen, but increase the benefit *States-men* make by dispensing with its *abuse*, which is now so often and grosly practised, as it is apparent to the multitude, who are apter to follow the *example* of their *Kings*, than the *Doctrine* of their *Teachers*; and might, (if any apparition of Justice or Religion were extant in their Governors) have their Passions, as the *Turks* stirred up to approbation or dislike, proportionable to the more or less dismal relations their *Priests* read to them out of their *Mahumetan Legend*, so much the more excusable, because the awe born to these, though but *Fictions*, doth help to spare the more ungrateful Rod, the too frequent use of which, hath in all times produced more Fear than Love.

17. This proves, *A false Religion doth contribute more to safety, than Atheism*, or a stupid neglect of all Worship; and that *a Clergy is of excellent concernment*, provided they keep close in their Doctrine, to *Reason of State*; not to be brought about, but through the mediation of their own Interest, by nothing so easily *biassed*, as comfortable *Livings* and severe *Deaths* or punishments, in case their exhortations go contrary to the grain of the Civil Government; whose Administrators have not so much cause to complain of the *Church-men* for their recoiling, since by their frequent setting upon the people, they taught them at last to worrey themselves: their Tongue like a Sword, being as well able to wound one side as another, and moves according as it is enclined by profit or fear: Neither

can

can any breach they have formerly made in the affairs of their Patrons, diſparage the *Calling*, more than it doth a *piece of Ordnance*, that being loſt through imprudence and miſcarriage, doth after batter down the houſe of her *Founder*; ſince all their Fulminations tend that way, to which the Hand that fills their Bellies is pleaſed to direct them; there being none eaſier warped than they, nor more violent aſſertors of what their own Wiſdom or the worlds Folly hath given them leave to call *Theirs*, as were eaſily deducible from their frequent changings; which gives me the boldneſs to believe, that if all, which is without queſtion the *Churches*, were reſtored, and the dignity of their Tenets and Calling vindicated, the truly honeſt would comply with any Government, out of Conſcience, and the reſt, batter contrary Parties in hope of Preferment.

Such as look upon the *Mahumetan Profeſſion* as of the groſſer allay, becauſe ſo far ſubſervient to worldly *Policie*, that the *Grandees and Prieſts*, like Juglers, carry the coal of zeal only in their mouths, not being heated themſelves with what they go about to enflame others; ſuffering their Threats and Promiſes to riſe no higher, or fall no lower, than ſuits with the Politick reaches of the Prince; may find other *Courts* ſtanding in as prophane a Poſture, eſpecially that of *Rome*, (not unworthily looked upon for the Magazine from whence the reſt of the World is ſupplied, with Wiſdom, ſhall I call it, or Deceit) where *Churchmen*, like *Burning glaſſes*, caſt the Rays of a

Celestial Fire into the Consciences of others; carrying in the mean time, themselves, a cold, Chrystalline, and Fragil Creed, towards what they endeavour to inform the People; taking upon them a publick *cure of Souls*, out of a no more religious respect, than to provide against their private wants; yet connived at here, as well as by all wise Princes else, because *Law* can promote no *Good*, nor prevent *Evil*, but what is open to *publick cognizance*; whereas *Religion* penetrates so low, as to erect a Tribunal in every mind, where Imagination sits like a terrible Judge, pronouncing the charge she hath been taught from Power, Custom, and Education; which, through the compunction of a tender *Conscience*, doth so rack the most intrinsick thoughts of all prepossessed with the dread of a *future account*, as they do not seldom confess themselves guilty of such hainous offences, as none else are able to accuse them for; expecting more ease from the sentence of the publick *Magistrate*, than they can find in their private Consciences, which daily excruciate them with the terrours of *Hell*, and the loss of *Heaven*. To conclude, *By the heat of Religion many Vertues are hatched, and more Vices stifled in the shell.*

18. Yet little is observable in the *Rites* of *Mahumet*, that is *Chargeable* to perform, or *grievous* to the Nature of Man. Perhaps the cause why *Sacrifice* is not taken in, amongst the number of things borrowed from the *Jews*, as thinking it incongruous with a Divine Essence, to be appeased or delighted by the loss and

and blood of poor Creatures, incapable of the Will or Power to tranſgreſs, though the inclination to Oppreſſion, Covetouſneſs, and Cruelty, is no more a ſtranger to their Natures than ours; which proves *Sin an effect of Law* and Conſtraint, rather than of Liberty or Nature. But *the People of God* had a higher Proſpect from theſe bloody *Ceremonies*, than the dark Miſt about *Mahumet* would ſuffer him, or any other out of the true Church to apprehend; elſe Wolves, and not Sheep, had furniſhed their Altars. Neither did this new State Founder believe any merit could reſide in a voluntary *Maceration*, or perſecution of our *Bodies*, (as if the moſt merciful God, confeſſed to have prepared in future all cœleſtial beatitudes for thoſe that love him, ſhould for the preſent ſo far diveſt that nature, as to delight to ſee us miſerable) which makes me think, that the *putting out of their Eyes* before the *Tomb* of their *Prophet* (now in uſe among them) to prevent the ſight of any thing after, and the *wearing* of ſuch huge and painful *Rings* in the moſt tender parts of their bodies, grew not from any Inſtitute of his', but are rather Baſtards of that *Church*, reputed for nothing more juſtly, *the Whore of Babylon*, than for burning her Proſelytes with ſuch exorbitant zeal, as the *Anchorites* and *Monks* are led by when they *whip* and *ſtigmatize* themſelves, out of hope to purchaſe Heaven: A Lunacy ſuperlative to theirs, who lend mony in this World upon humane ſecurity, to be paid in the next by God himſelf; No ways ſutable with this

Founders Philoſophy, who would have thought it leſs Blaſphemy, with *Plutarch*, to acknowledge no God at all, than to imagine him owner of ſuch Paſſions, as are unworthy, and below a Divine Eſſence.

19. THe total *Abſtinence from Wine* is the moſt material Sacrament of the Turks Obedience to *Mahumets Law*. Now leſt any ſhould paſs it as a leſs pertinent piece of Prudence, than really it is, I deſire thoſe that take more delight in condemning then acquitting the actions of *Antiquity*, to ſuſpend their Judgments, till theſe Reaſons are weighed.

1. He was not ſo poor a Naturaliſt as not to know *Wine effeminates*, no leſs than enervates the body of Man; the Cauſe, *Sampſons* Mother, together with himſelf, abſtained from it; otherwiſe he might (by the Witch, his Miſtreſs) have been as eaſily charmed into Drunkenneſs as Sleep. For though it may not unpoſſibly, conjure up a preſent furious Reſolution, it was never yet famed for a friend to the Habit of Valour.

2. It is a ſworn *Enemy to Diſcipline*; rendring the moſt obedient Souldiers, during that Diſtemper, deaf to all neceſſary words of Command.

3. *Wine dries the Brain* by Nature, *and beſides, by accident, informs the Underſtanding*, through the Commerce and Familiarity it breeds with men of different Judgments: And ſo might have eaſily called up acuter Spirits, and

and cauſed a ſtricter *ſcrutiny* into the *Miracles*, *Life*, and *Procedure* of their *Legiſlator*, than an infantine Power was able to correſpond for: There being no humour ſo bad, but this ſtrong liquor is able to make worſe and inflame, by repreſenting miſcarriages in Commanders, and affronts from their Fellows, which in a calmer temper could never have floated in ſo weak Imaginations: And thus led on by Chimera's, they, like *Sampſon*, ſnatch up the moſt improbable weapons, which they do, not ſeldom, imploy in almoſt as miraculous Succeſſes.

4. The *Tranſparency* of *Drunkenneſs*, able to conceal nothing to its own Shame; and *Flexibility* to all things, rather than Reaſon.

5. Being yet in an itinerant condition, and ſo not likely to find *Wine* always at hand; it could not have layn in the power of any earthly thing, but a premeditated and religious Injunction, to have kept ſuch an untutored Rabble within the compaſs of moderation, when ever they had met with it; Not ſeldom *the Fate of Armies*, who upon ſuch diſadvantages, have been all cut off by far inferiour Powers, being themſelves firſt overcome by *Drink*.

6. To end this Digreſſion, in which more might be ſaid; *Wine* could be no fit ingredient to mingle with the heat of the Country they marched in, and the labour they muſt needs encounter in the rough way, leading to ſo high Deſigns.

20. Not to preſume to vie Inſtances with the people of the *Jews*, who beſides the prudence

of *Moſes*, had the unerring Spirit of God to direct them in all emergent occaſions (which, by the way, renders their frequent *Grumblings* no leſs prodigious than blaſphemous) I find few Nations more *conſtant to their Founders Aphoriſms*, or that give leſs way to a refining, by the agitation of experiences drawn from a confluence of differing events, than the *Turk*; for which he ſtands obliged to his own firm *Conſtancy in Religion*, and his Neighbours often variations, which have opened the gap to his moſt ſignal Conqueſts: It being impoſſible to ſhake this Tree of *Paradiſe*, but to the prejudice of the Prince in poſſeſſion, and benefit of ſuch ſubtil Serpents as deſire to ſupplant him; therefore not to be done out of any wantoner inſtigation, than an abſolute Neceſſity. For though the *Change* of an opinion that is ancient, may ſtop a Leak for the preſent, it breeds ſuch a Worm, as doth cauſe a perpetual Colick in the State: Apparent in *France*, where the *Queen Mother* fomented the *Proteſtants*, to maintain her *Regency*, and could never after be free from the danger of *Civil War*. This makes me wonder to find *Toleration of Religion* ſo common an Article in the Tranſactions of Princes; ſince it no way ſuites with the complexion of Prudence to paliate a preſent *defect* by ſuch a *Recipe* as may breed for the future an incurable *Diſeaſe*.

21. Yet becauſe many *Cuſtoms*, paſſing current in the *Minority of Power*, would prove childiſh and defective in a more *Setled Condition*, and after Poſterity is ſwelled to ſo conſiderable a bulk,

bulk, as that the moſt numerous part may be allowed to exchange Battleaxes and Swords into Shares and Pickaxes; it could not be avoided by humane Providence, but ſomething ſhould be wanting in relation to ſo vaſt an *Empire*, no leſs terrible to the Ear than admirable to their Eyes, have ſeen it; a Fortune perhaps as far above the hopes of their firſt *Founder*, as it tranſcends the ordinary extent of the like endeavours. Therefore he deſerves, in my opinion, more commendation, for foreſeeing ſo much, than blame in omitting *Proviſions* againſt ſuch accidents, as none but a *Prophet* indeed could be ever able to preſage: Many Carriages being neceſſary to the *Sword*, are ſuperfluous, if not deſtructive when the *Scepter* is obtained: The firſt intending the death of Enemies, but the latter the preſervation of Subjects and Friends.

22. Whereupon his Succeſſors finding that though the *Keys of the Church can hang no where ſo quietly, as at the Girdle of the Prince*, (of which *Moſes* is an unerring Example) yet to give a greater luſtre to the beams of *Religion* (eſteemed by all, if not quite corrupted, yet far leſs pure in Secular Veſſels, than thoſe ſet wholly apart for the worſhip of God;) and to have withal a favourable *Umpire* of a ſeeming more indifferent and ſanctified allay, ready to compoſe any *Diſcontents*, that might be fomented between the *Civil Power* and the *Subject*, either through others ambition, or their own oppreſſion, not unlikely to reſult from ſo abſolute a Juriſdiction; A Religious man

called the *Mufty*, is ſet up, whoſe *Habit* is *Green*, a colour none but the Kindred of *Mahumet* are ſuffered to wear, of which number he is always ſuppoſed to be one. Now the better to enable him to ſtrike an awful Reverence into the People, in caſe a miſled Zeal ſhould melt them into *Diviſions*, or a colder Licenſe freez them into a chill *Atheiſm*, the *Emperour* honours the *Mufty* in publick, with the higheſt *reverence* and moſt ſolemn *attention*, Denying him nothing he dare ask; No *Malefactor* being ſuffered to die, hath the fortune to ſee him, or be ſeen by him as he paſſeth; The Prince placing him, upon all weighty occaſions, next the Throne, where, by his publick *Geſtures*, he acts a lively and terrible dread of thoſe Crackers, that contain no other Sparks of a Celeſtial fire than what reſides in true *Reaſon of State*: Which is the *Art of Governing* to the beſt advantage for Prince and People.

And though this *Circumciſed Pope* yields an infallible *obedience* to all the *Emperour* inſpires him with, yet being *rarely ſeen*, the Generality reverence him, as if they apprehended ſomething about him more than humane. And let our new Politicians practice what they pleaſe, Experience hath made it ſufficiently manifeſt, that *A too proſtituted Familiarity breeds contempt*, not only in things Civil, but Divine. Now ſuch as think the Prudence abſolutely neceſſary to the Conduct of humane affairs, uſeleſs in thoſe relating to Heaven, may be out; For ſince *Miracles*, and the audible voice of

God

God is silent, nothing is so likely as a *Sanctified Policy*, to retain a competent Reverence for Religion, or maintain so much Probity, as is requisite in a general Commerce, to keep us from murdering one another, upon the instigation of Covetousness and Revenge. Therefore the way for *Prince* and *Priest* to be thought more than men, is to do nothing unworthily, say nothing unproperly, nor wear any thing undecently.

23. The Turk in this is happy, that the *Mufty* his *Pope*, no less than *Meca* his *Rome*, are within reach of his power; so as he is not to seek for the *Oracles of Religion* out of his own Territories; denied by custom to the most considerable part of *Europe*, whose Princes are regulated by the *Popes* Inspirations, not only in things concerning God, but what else may be fetched in by his Pastoral Crook (*in Ordine ad Spiritualia.*) And lest this absurd proceeding should be exposed to a general Reformation, the Bishop of *Rome* tolerates all *Incestuous Matches*, and other base and unjust actions, Princes desire to have indulged, for fear, like *Hen.* 8. they should do it of themselves. The consideration of which makes them bear the heavy weight of so many *Ecclesiasticks*, who scarce acknowledge any obedience but to the Sea of *Rome*.

24. Though the *Turkish* Court no less than the Common People, do afford the Gaudy plumage of Honour to the *Mufty*, the highest Bird in this Earthly *Paradise*; yet if he but offers to tune his note contrary to the true *Dialect of State*,

State, he is straight unperched: It having been long observable in this Empire, that neither *Friends*, *Money*, *Sanctity*, *Love* of *People*, former *Desert*, or any present need of the persons accurate *Parts*, were ever found Antidotes sufficient to expel the poison of the *Emperours Jealousie*, who esteems no number of Lifes (though never so innocent) equivalent with his safety, or the Nations. Yet if this *Holy Man* comes to his death by an unnatural *Obstruction*, the honour of his place is so far from receiving diminution by it, that his Body goes to the Grave with the least aspertion to his *Fame*; his Life being rather commended. So as his Successor mounts into his Chair untainted by any Prejudice; which *Christians* contract to their *Popes* or *Patriarchs*, by the errors they discover after their Deaths; The Cause, such as succeed are not in so great esteem as their Offices require; Thought capable to be tainted with the same faults, their Predecessors were owners of: not here imagined, because the *Mufty*, how ill soever he deserved of *Church* or *State*, is registred among their *Saints*. In which appears the highest point of *Policy*, it being unlikely, any should *question* the truth of his *Judgment* when he is in being, whose Actions they dare not arraign after he is dead. And for his *Removal*, it passeth without the least notice given to, or taken by the Generality; who are otherways imployed, either in caressing their plurality of *Wives*, or dispatching the business necessary to their *Professions*: Abominating us *Christians* for

walking

walking to no more profitable an end, than to talk of *News*, &c.

25. This diſcourſe of the *Muftie's diſpatch* may afford ſome room by the way, to enquire into the juſtice of *Clandeſtine Deaths*; a *Cuſtom* with the *Mahumetans*, but ſuch an one, as I hope never to ſee concocted into a more general practice among us: yet obſerving how our *Chronicles* lie overflowed with ſuch vaſt Oceans of Blood, ſpilt upon no more urgent and publick neceſſity, than what relates to the ends and ambition of a ſingle perſon, I will venture to ſay of it, and that only for the Meridian of *Turkey*, that *a Phyſitian or a Felon may be cheaper imployed than an Army*, and with leſs prejudice to the *good of the Generality*, Voted by all Right and Reaſon, *the Supreme Law*, And for whoſe Salvation *Innocency* himſelf was willing to die. For where the ſole power of Life and *Limb* reſides, as it doth here, in the breſt of the Prince, under the warrant of an uninterrupted Cuſtom (the *malice* making the *Murder*, and not the blow) I cannot think it ſo hainous a Crime, that, in caſe a Subject hath juſtly forfeited his Life to the ſafety, or but the conveniency of the People, it ſhould be taken the moſt advantagious way to make the better compenſation for the damage it had or might have brought to the Publick. A *private execution* being eſteemed here no more *Murder*, where the Cauſe is juſt, than one made publick is able to expiate the blood of an Innocent.

I know, ſo many *Inconveniences* lie in the way of

of this *Custom*, as it appears too unwieldy to be managed without danger by a single person, whose Judgment cannot be so clearly separated from passion, as meerly to intend his Countries preservation, without the mixture of some gall of revenge; A candor not unpossible to be found in the State of *Venice*, by nothing so long preserved in being, as a *Custom* they have sometimes to *make away* their greatest *Senators* upon no stronger evidence; than what meer *Suspicion* brings in against them; preferring rather the cutting off a *Limb*, in which appears the first Symptomes of *Putrefaction*, than to hazard the whole Body by an incurable *Gangrene*. But whether the damage of this practice, exceeds the profit, or the benefit the danger of the consequence, cannot be easily resolved; Since *Princes* and *Statesmen* carry often such pernicious humours, as they convert that into a *daily practice*; which, like *Davids* eating the Shew-bread, is only permitted in case of *Necessity*.

26. Queen *Elizabeth*, in other things the best consulted Monarch that ever filled the *English* Throne, forfeited more good opinion and honour, in using the *Hangman* in the death of her sister *Mary* of *Scotland*, than if she had employed all the *Mountebanks* in *Europe*: For though *Princes* stand as near the Grave as other Mortals, in relation to *Diseases*, no less than *Desert*; Yet the hand of *Justice* cannot decently appear in their Executions, without debauching the Majesty of her own Power; Princes being esteemed the mouth of the Law.

Now

Now ſince the *Council* of *England* were too pious or hypocritical, to uſe the *Fig* in the ſenſe of *Italy*, *Spain*, and other Nations, celebrated for more wiſdom; they might under an higher repute of Sanctity have ſpared the *Leaves*, and not laid the fault on poor *Daviſon*, that did nothing but by Commiſſion; an Apron that diſcovered more ſhame than it could poſſibly hide: All looking upon it, not only as the deſire, but the act of the *Queen* and her *Council*, who by this publick Procedure dilated the reproach over the whole Nation. Now I appeal to all not indulgent to a *Form* of *Juſtice*, though never ſo ridiculous, who obligeth his Priſoner moſt, he that takes away the *irkeſom Ceremonies*, Diſhonour and Expectation of *Death*, or he that acumulates them all on a Block? As if that which is *Murder* in a *Chamber*, were not only far greater, but more terrible on a *Scaffold*, where nothing but Death and her attendants appear.

27. But to return to *Turkey*. It lies not out of the way of poſſibility, but that the *Grand Seignior*, in regard of his abundance of Wives, may have two, or more *Children* at one and the ſame time: Therefore to break the neck of all diſputes apt to reſult from contrary *claims*, the *Emperour in fact ſtrangles all the reſt*; a conſeſt tyrannical Tragedy, not to be heard without deteſtation; yet we fear too often acted among *Chriſtians*, elſe the line of the *Catholick King*, no leſs than that of *France*, and thoſe ſmaller ones in *Italy*, might long ſince have choked their Felicity in a crowd of *Rebellions*:

Neither

Neither need I end here, were it my deſign to exceed the Counterpane by home-born examples. Yet ſuch a *Quærie* may be ſeaſonably made, If *the good of All* (as I ſaid before) be the *Supreme* Law, and grounded upon that of *Nature*, whoſe chief buſineſs is to intend the *preſervation* of the *whole*, without any nicer relation to *particulars*, than to place or remove them according as they ſuit or bring profit to the general occaſions, a duty all are born to; why ſhould ſuch be blamed as take the moſt probable ways to promote Peace, and ſtop the *Poſtern Gates* of the *Court*, by which more dangerous *Wars* enter, than do ordinarily proceed from the *invaſions* of *Strangers*? And here by the way, we may note, That *Republicks have not ſuch impulſive cauſes to ſhed innocent blood, as Kings:* eſpecially after that Sluce is ſtopt, which the moſt for their preſervation are forced to let run at firſt, till the State is reduced to an wholſom Parity, and the ambitious itch of all Pretenders cured.

28. Nothing is *penal* by the *Laws* of this Nation, but what is always, or, at leaſt for the preſent, deſtructive to the *well-being* of the Prince or People: By which the more active *Youth* (the ſtrongeſt ingredient to compoſe an *Army* of) remain ſo fully ſatisfied with an uninterrupted *Licenſe* to attain the fartheſt extent of their deſires, as they apprehend no felicity beyond the *Liberty* they enjoy: And in ſuch as Time and Wearineſs hath exchanged the humour of *Luſt*, for one more *Thriving*, the Priviledge they have to *exact on ſtrangers*, hinders

hinders their apprehenſions from finding that loathſom taſte, *Foraigners* imagine to reſult from ſo *abſolute* a *Juriſdiction*, as is, and hath been for many Ages exerciſed by their *Emperours* over them. And thus the *State* is a double gainer, this *Indulgence* affording opportunity for all to lay out themſelves to the advantage of their Country, either in *getting Wealth*, or *Souldiers* to defend it.

29. Contrary to the practice of *Chriſtians*, that plant the Canons of their *Law*, and arm the Meſſengers of Death and *Damnation* againſt the Gnats of *juvenile lapſes*, but permit the weightier ſins of *Oppreſſion*, *Schiſm*, and *Ambition*, which never leave boyling in ſlie heads, till they diſcover an opportunity, by which they may overflow the ancient Government, in turning the peoples eyes towards the *Faults* of their *Prince*, and ſtopping them with prejudice againſt his *Vertues*: which may be done under the Seal of ſo ſecure a Caution, as the Actors are often upon the Stage, before thoſe intended to be the ſubject of the *Tragedy* are able to take notice of it, eſpecially in Nations glutted with Peace and Plenty, or ſuch as long to caſt off an uſurped Power; whereas it is poſſible, if *Nature* were not ſo *hard curbed*, and deprived of vent (by which ſhe is not ſeldom carried through an impetuous Luſt, out of the true rode of *Generation*) ſuch minds might be taken up with leſs deſtructive diverſions; *This deſire* being as hard to be appeaſed, as that of hunger or thirſt: Neither can the *defects* daily obſerved to increaſe in our *Iſſue*, be juſtly imputed to

any

any thing elſe, than the meagre deſires, ſo ſtrict a confinement breeds in us, by which the ſpirits are ſo curdled and quelled, as they rarely produce any thing admirable for *ſtrength* or *ſtature*, the higheſt perfections of Nature, and no leſs uſeful in Peace than War; ſo as the *Names* and *Eſtates* of the moſt illuſtrious *Families* this Age affords, depend on *Children* our Fore-fathers would hardly have chriſtened; being fit for nothing but *Learning*; a Trade had never been ſo over-laid, but to find imployment for theſe *Changelings*; who *Fairy*-like throw about Firebrands in State and Church, upon the leaſt apprehenſion of any want or ſuperfluity in Ceremony or Decency. To conclude, Such as too rigidly expel by their forked *Laws*, any *natural deſires*, forget they will return, or break out into a worſe miſchief; No leſs than the more prudent Advice of *Solomon*, *not to wring the noſe* of the People to void excrements, *leſt Blood ſhould follow*: For if *Law* did not out-wrangle *Nature*, ſhe might poſſibly be heard to plead, that our ordinary *Marriages* do rather tire than ſatisfie her deſires. And though it may not be owned as a decent *Poeſie* for the *Ring-leaders* to *Sedition*, yet the ſetting too high a *mulct* upon the Peoples *Peccadillio's*, and diſſents in Judgment, no way in their power to prevent, though poſſibly to diſſemble, is the cauſe of a loathing of the preſent *Government*, and a certain preſage of ruine to all in Authority, if not the whole State, to be brought about under the pretence of zeal to *Religion*, and care of the Peoples *Liberty*; though

though the firſt is no more viſible in the *Church*, than the latter is in the *civil* Adminiſtration of affairs; Far exceeding the Cheat of *Ananias* and *Saphira*, who gave a conſiderable part of what was their own, whilſt theſe ſwallow all the *primitive Charity* had laid out in *pious uſes*, belying ſo far the *holy Spirit*, as to pretend, the worſt they can ſay or do, is dictated by it. And I wiſh *Mahumet* were only guilty in this, who made not his *Religion* alone, but his loathſom *Diſeaſe* a Baud to his Ambition and Rapine.

30. *Puniſhments* in *Turkey* are *more ſharp than common*, which doth rather ſtupifie than waken the humour to *Rebellion*; and are executed on open *Malefactors*, not the *Darlings* of the people, removing the latter upon occaſion by a *clanculat procedure*; As in caſe a *Madman* (one of the *Prophets* of their Rabble for ſuch they eſteem ſo) ſhould inveigh againſt Authority, they are far wiſer than to ſtigmatize or whip them through the *City* (as we uſed to do) before the people, who take themſelves not only concerned, but wounded in the general *Liberty*, through their *ſufferings*; It being their nature to take hold of, and believe any *evil report* of ſuch *Governours* (at leaſt) as are employed in *Taxes*, or any other *ungrateful ſervice*, though moſt neceſſary for the uſe of the *State*: therefore in ſuch caſes, if they cannot tempt him over to their ſide, by *Gold*, they ſtop his mouth with ſomething *leſs cordial*: and if his body be found, no diligence is omitted in the enquiring after ſome *Ruffin*, on whom the people may be likely to father the *Murther*; or the Corps

not appearing, they pretend him wrapt up into Heaven by the mediation of their great *Prophet*, at whoſe feet he ſits pleading their cauſe, and guarding them from ſome *Plague*, they ſay, impends over them for their *diſobedience* to the *Emperour*, the Vicegerent of God upon Earth. Nor doth this often times ſerve, but a ſolemn *Faſt* is appointed, where the *Stateſmen* do in ſhew, and the *Ignorant* in pure zeal, afflict themſelves; during which time, the news of ſome *victory*, or happy accident, is brought and owned as the *return* of their *Prayers*, no leſs than a heavenly approbation given to the Actions of thoſe in Power: Thus after the multitude have been ſufficiently *chaſtiſed* for the *Courtiers Faults*, they become humble and quiet, ſubmitting their backs to any burden, out of a fear of worſe, and an opinion they have that it is conſonant to the will of God.

Yet in my judgement no wiſe Prince ought to tire out *this remedy* by a too often application, leſt it ſhould not only loſe its *vertue*, but breed a worſe *Diſeaſe*; an over-heated *zeal* conſuming not ſeldom the wrong end to that for which it was at firſt kindled, being apt to be driven by the contrary winds of Ambition and Covetouſneſs upon the *Church*, where the *Buckets* uſe to hang, likelier to quench the flames of any other *ſedition*, than what reſults from this Wild fire; which for the moſt part melts the *Lead*, and conſumes the foundation of the *Houſe of God*, under pretence of his Service; a courſe that is ſo far from *edification*, that it makes all, not acquainted with the true knack

of

of *Ambition, hate to be reformed:* Whose second remove is to the *Court*, where finding all things in a *rotten condition*, or at best obnoxious to be construed to a sense contrary to the prepossessed minds of the Major part; the whole Fabrick is consumed, to the very *person* of the *Prince*, out of whose ashes another ariseth that proves a *Bird of the same feather*, if not a worse: The *Subjects* returning home laden, for the generality, with no more benefit than the *Beggars*, that in a drunken fit expose themselves to the danger of the Law, Wounds, Beating, and Death, only to burn the old *Whipping-post*; though daily experience informs them, they can neither be quiet or safe without it, which is the cause that in all places they set up a new one, when the fury of the distemper is over. *Thus are Subjects no less vain, that do rebell, than Governours mad, that provoke them to it.*

31. The Subjects in *Turkey* have nothing *hereditary:* All *Honours*, and *places of profit*, being peculiar to *Desert*, and determine with *Life*, without the least partiality shewed to *greatness of Birth*, unless that it produceth more jealousie than favour, to have descended from a Father formerly in power. This hangs no less weight of *Restraint* on the *Ambition* of all in actual Administration of publick Affairs, than it adds *Industry* to such as have not yet attained to that height. By which a foul errour in *Europe* is obviated, where men ascend to the *highest places* by the mediation of *Friends* and *Money*, rather than any advantage

their *worth* brings to the Common-wealth: It being most ordinary for Fools to be admitted into the *Temples of Honour* and *Riches*, whilst the choicest endowments of Art and Nature are suffered to pray, if not beg, without.

32. The *Emperours* being here *Administrator to all dead mens Estates*, forceth their *Children* to be solicitous after *trades*; as having none to relie on for a future *maintenance*, but themselves. And to add reputation to this laudable custom the *Grand Signior* professeth some *Art* himself, in which he disdains not to consume his spare time. From whence accrues this benefit to the State, That *Disbanded Souldiers* (the pest of Christian Nations) are one day in Arms, the next at work in their Shops. Neither have they such confluence of *Idle men*, *Lawyers*, and *Scholars*, which among us make up a third of the people, and are, for the most part Contrivers and Fomenters of all the distractions found in *Church* and *State*: From whence results the severest of the Curses, God left to the choice of *David*; For the *Plague* and *Famine* terminate chiefly in *Children* and the *weakest* of *men*; whereas the *Sword* (like some *Monsters* recorded) makes the *fairest Women* and *choicest Men*, the object of its lust and fury, and therefore brings an incomparable infelicity where ever it reigns.

33. This Custom of *Trade* and independency on future *hope* religiously observed, doth cut the cords of such *Vanities* as draw *Christians* into *Luxury*, by a profuse expense in *Furniture*, and no less excess in *Building*, to a treble proportion

portion of what the Owner needs, in relation to his particular Family; the burial of *Timber* and other rich *Materials:* much to the prejudice of *Shipping*, beſides the *Rent charge* it puts upon the poſſeſſors Revenue to maintain it in *Repair.*

34. Neither is this people apt to follow the *Europeain* vanities of *Horſe-raſes*, *Hunting*, *Hawking*, and amorous *Entertainments:* Their *plurality* of *Women* quenching with more ſecurity in regard of *Health*, and leſs *Charge*, the thirſt of *Change* ordinarily attending the tedious co-habitation with *one.*

35. The *Turks* are very *magnificent in publick Buildings*, eſpecially ſuch as relate to the ſervice of God; none of the weakeſt effects of their *Teachers* ſufficiency, who by working upon tender Conſciences, are able (like ours) to make them ſo unnatural fools, as to skip their neareſt Relations, and to deſign what they got, they know not how, in providing conveniencies for they know not whom: By which means ſuch *Baths* and *Moſcos* are erected, as do increaſe the eaſe of *Travellers*, no leſs than the zeal of thoſe that make the purchaſe of Heaven the object of their endeavours; whilſt *Chriſtians* raze the names of *Benefactors* out of the fore heads of ſumptuous *Piles*, ſuffering the ill-mingled ingredients of Covetouſneſs, and a burning deſire of Change in Religion, to conſume brave *Monuments of Charity*, by alienating the *Lands*, and melting the *Lead* of the Houſes, which a more ancient and fervent zeal (though now indited of *Superſtition*)

had solder'd on: Therefore if I were worthy to give *Advice* to our *publick Spirits*, they should hereafter assign their *Legacies* and Contribution towards the mending of *Common Waies*, and erecting *useful Bridges*; more likely to carry their Names to eternity, than *Churches* or other *pious Foundations*, apter to have their conveniency questioned by covetous and ungrateful Posterity; since earthly Paths are more trodden and better indulged, than those leading to heaven: Nothing being likely to continue long, that is able to bear the charge of its own ruin. Therefore those that accumulated these rich *Donations*, on the *Church* and *Seminaries of Learning*, instead of perpetuating their own fame, laid a foundation for the ruin of that, they only intended to preserve. It being unpossible that any humane Institution should continue without so much shew of Corruption (especially if rich and splendid) as may give a pretence for the rapine of those, who being inapprehensive of the fence of Honour and Religion, are instigated by Avarice, or a present necessity. This makes me, though with trembling, presage, that the ruin of *Christianity* in *Europe* is not very far off: because the greatest *Revenues* of the *Catholick Church* are looked upon with more Envy than Religion; which once proclaimed corrupted, or unnecessary, she lies open to the plunder of all. Upon which consideration, the *Pope* hath not done imprudently to gather a Church in *America*, whither he may one day be forced to retire, whose Zeal is likelier to be hotter

hotter than the *Europeians*, that have had theirs cooled with the winds of ſo many contrary Doctrines. Thus doth *Religion* run from one *Meridian* to another, thriving beſt at firſt; for after a long abode ſhe ſo far ſharpens and refines the ſpirits of men, as they are able to diſcover ſuch Abuſes and Errors, as may afford them a pretence to cut her own throat for what ſhe poſſeſſes: when, God knows, it is not the *Doctrine* that is changed, but their *Apprehenſions*: for if the heat of Zeal be miſimployed, which is able to concoct any opinions into the nouriſhment of Religion, all things after will prove flat and nauſeous. This might tempt *Mahumet* to ſtuff his *Alcaron* with ſuch high and *myſtical expreſſions*, to buſie and amuſe ſuch as can taſt no Doctrine, but what may bite the Conſcience and perplex the Underſtanding.

36. THough it be *natural* for *Founders* of *Nations* to *enlarge* their *Confines* to the ſartheſt extent, Prudence or Power is able to ſtretch them; I find the *Inſtitutes* of none ſuit better with ſuch a Deſign, than thoſe *Mahumet* and his more immediate *Succeſſors* have followed: Yet to ſpare my own memory, no leſs than theirs (if any be) that will venture ſuch a Jewel as Time, in the ſurveying and purchaſe of ſo wild a field of Obſervations; I ſhall fix upon *Three things* they chiefly labour to *promote*: Out of which it will not only be eaſie to extract *their Firſt Principles*, but deduce the *ſubſequent materials* imployed in the edification of this vaſt *Body*, whoſe ſtride though

it extends not so far as *Spain*, yet it is more compact, and in that better able to remove, without danger of falling, any blocks that *neighbour Princes* may, out of jealousie cast in the way of its felicity: not to be parallel'd in any part of the world, with which Profit or Curiosity hath made us familiar.

37. The *first* lies in *Obedience*; which, being divided between *Religion* and *Empire*, asketh the more prudence to prevent danger; lest such as pretend to be the sole Heirs of God, do not cozen the Prince of his Birthright, under a popular discovery of a too rough hand in *Government*, or error in divine *Worship*, in which the poor claim no less ample a share than the rich; all being noted to fight with the greater animosity for the world to come, the less they find themselves possest of in this: it appearing to them unsutable with the *Goodness* and *Justice* of a *Supream Power*, that the Creature should not some where meet with *felicity*. And to prevent all sinister mispriſions incident to the *Religion* of the Prince (the gap with which the babes of *Rebelion* and *Novelty* are pampered) Though the *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil Powers* be both radically in the *Grand Signior*, yet the pontifical *Musty* hath Studied the Art to make the people believe, these two Streams do flow, one from a less, and the other from a more Sanctified fountain: By which is gain'd this huge advantage, that the *Emperour* hath all he *dislikes*, condemn'd as it were out of the mouth of God, no less than what he *likes*, approved; It being upon

no

no fleighter penalty than Death, to refuse to acquiesce in any *Sense*, this holy man puts upon the *Alcaron:* nor can the *Interpretation*, State-reason requires this day, perplex one quite contrary, the next, if it may be more useful; because *nothing is registred* but what respects men; things relating to God being left free to the disposure of the *Prince*, who by the lips of the *Mufty* directs the knowledge of the people; himself like a weather-cock pointing only that way which the breath of *Policy* blows; the *inferiour* sort of *Priests* in the mean while screaming like Lapwings in the ears of the Rabble, lest they should observe the proceedings of the *Court*, which is the Nest wherein all their *Grievances* (as they call them) are hatched.

38. Now, concerning *Obedience* in things meerly *civil*, though the hand of the *Priesthood* be not out in all emergent cases, yet the Subject having no Vote in the proposal or consent to *Laws*, all being solely at the will of the Prince, they have nothing but Patience to fly to, in the highest *exactions* he is pleased to impose; no *Instrument* appearing of any mutual *Compact* betwixt *Him* and the *People*, so as Life and Estate are meerly *arbitrary*; better endured, because the *Crown* being Heir to all men, none can be made poorer than they were born, it being the nature of all, to esteem highest of their Birth-right, a Term here not understood.

39. The second thing promoted, is an impartial *Parity* throughout all his Dominions, in relation

relation to every thing but *Deſert*; none appearing higher or lower than the reſt, but according to the *Place* he fills in the *State*; all *Offices* remaining wholly in the diſpoſure of the *Emperour*: This removes the Subjects eyes from the *Grandees*, who might elſe be tempted to Faction, and fixeth them upon the *Throne* as their natural Object, and moſt auſpicious to their Fortunes. Thus are the Rich humbled into Thraldom out of *Fear*, and the reſt out of *Hope*; two Reins, which whoſoever hath the art to handle, may guide the world whither he pleaſe: This keeps the Turks chaſt from *Rebellion*, either out of ſcorn to follow one of no more noble extraction than themſelves, or through the baſeneſs bred in them by receiving *Injuries*, not only from the legal *Magiſtrate*, but the *Souldier*, whoſe Authority lies in his Sword, which the common people have as little warrant to wear, as skill to uſe; yet like the *Head-prentice* they execute the ſame Tyranny upon *Strangers*, their Maſters are pleaſed to exerciſe over them: where terrour is augmented, becauſe *Puniſhments* are not confin'd either by Law or Cuſtom, though they oftner exceed than fall ſhort of the merit of the cauſe. And here it cannot be obſerved without a ſerious reflection upon the force Imagination borrows from the religious reverence they bear to their Prince, that ſuch as will contemn all dangers in his defence, are rarely found (till of late) in *Arms* againſt him, though provoked by the moſt heavy *oppreſſions*. Thus we ſee how far they may err, that make *ſucceſs* the

Touchſtone

Touchſtone of the truth of a Profeſſion, or the peace it brings to a Nation, or the owners Conſcience; and experience can produce millions of Examples, that men only ſteeled with erroneous opinions have been no leſs daring upon fire and ſword, than thoſe marching under the Target of truth.

40. The third thing is *Fortitude*; endowed ſo richly by no Nation as the *Turks*, whoſe *Emperour* placeth all *Offices* in the *Van* of brave Actions; whilſt his *Prieſts* and *Prophets* are no leſs diligent in muſtering up the *joys of Heaven* in the *Rear*: And for *Cowards*, they have not only Poverty and Reproach attending them in this world, but Hell and Damnation in the next. Thus by baiting all the ends of his *Militia*, he doth not only catch the *covetous* and *ambitious*, but thoſe attached with the invincible humours of *ſuperſtition* and melancholy; By which, like Oxen, they are rendred not only fit, but willing to endure both labour & Slaughter. Thus *Fantaſie* but a weak ſhell in it ſelf, yet if fill'd with Sulpherous zeal, and the opinion of Truth, and future Happineſs, confounds not only all that dare appear in oppoſition of it, but the very Deſign (if capable of ſo much prudence and moderation as to project one) that ſhe intended to promote. Therefore ſuch as conſider, how far the *Turks Conqueſts* are indulged by their *Religion*, have more cauſe to wonder, they are not maſters of the whole world, than that they enjoy ſuch a proportion thereof, as they do; where the *Siſters* and *Daughters*, of the *Emperours* own blood, are often given in marriage

marriage to reward that which was bravely ventur'd by the meaneſt Souldier; whoſe *Iſſue* by cuſtom can challenge no higher place in their Uncles or Grandſires favour, than they are able to purchaſe by their own *Deſert*, he owning none for *Kindred*, beyond ſuch as are allied to *Vertue*, *Wiſdom*, or ſome other quality that may render them uſeful to the State: Unlike the practice of *Germany*, where ten or more bear the *Title* of one *Principality*, having nothing to feed on but the air of Honour, looking like ſolitary and demoliſhed *Caſtles*, quite deſtitute of Strength or Territory, the name of the place being only left to uphold them.

41. In the purſuit of their *Fortitude*, I ſhall ſay ſomething more of their proceedings in *War*: and firſt of *Eunuchs*, by many thought leſs propenſe to valour, and therefore poſſibly to be noted in the *Turks* as a blemiſh, by ſuch as do not warily obſerve, that *Caution* and *Circumſpection* are no leſs, if not more, neceſſary in the *General*, and oftentimes harder to be met with, than *Daring* and undaunted *Reſolution* in the *Souldier*; it being one thing to *execute*, another to *direct*. Therefore the *Grand Signior* doth not ſeldom make *Eunuchs Commanders* in *Chief*, never Common Souldiers; the *Fear*, which is neceſſary in the firſt, being deſtructive in the latter; more Armies having periſhed for want of *Moderation*, than *Valour*, in the Head: Beſides their incapacity of *Children* gives ſuch caution for their Fidelity, as cannot be expected from one more virile;

a perfect

a perfect man being in a condition to gain honour and profit by the *Change of Government*, whereas one so mutilated is capable of little more than shame and loss. And because it is unlikely to cut the throat of this *Empire* with any Sword but her own, such are imployed with most discretion in these high places, as are least apt to rebell.

42. *The Janizaries*, on whom they fix the belief of *Victory*, are by a primitive Institution *prohibited Marriage*; yet lest this should make a gap in their felicity, the wives, and daughters of the less useful, especially those their Sword hath subdued, are without question subject to their desires. This wings their *obedience* in the performance of Commands though pointing at never so *remote Employments*. For quite unshackled from the magnetical force of an *affection to wife* and *children*, by use made natural (which chains *Christians*, like fond *Apes*, to their own doors) every place is fancied their proper sphere; because it cannot afford coorser *Meat*, harder *Lodging*, or severer *Discipline*, than they have at home: Neither doth the want of *Wives* raise such cries as are made by the *Relicts* and *Children* of slain *Souldiers*; the appeasing of which swells in other Nations to little less than would pay a small Army: This *Emperour* being Heir as well to the Lives as Estates of his Subjects.

43. They seldom grant *Quarter* till all is subdued: By this they prevent fighting twice with the same Adversary. Neither are they forward

forward to *exchange Priſoners*, leſt in their abode with the Enemy, their affections ſhould be wrapped towards any more moderate diſcipline, obſervable in thoſe they oppoſe: And out of the like Jealouſie they ſeldom continue *War* long with the ſame Nation; *Change* not only preventing all Contagion, that may ariſe from Commerce with worſe ordered people, but affording the Souldier at leaſt a ſeeming delight, in variety. And in farther relation to *Quarter*, a Prince rich in Subjects doth rather ſpoil than mend his Market by ſuch kind of barterring, by rendring Enemies the bolder, as being readier to diſpenſe with the danger of *Impriſonment* than *Death*: Neither are any miraculous effects of *Deſpair* much to be feared, where there is room enough left to evade: This humour being as ſingle and rare, as the *Phœnix*, and not to be generated but out of the aſhes of hope. And he that conſiders, that the *Turk* is not of ſo poor an allay, as ſome Princes, which are undone by a *victory*, if it coſts too dear, may ſee his deſign in a great part ſatisfied by the *Employment* and loſs of his *Souldiers*; the too great encreaſe of ſuch Spirits being all he hath reaſon to fear. This makes *War* (an Art in other places) an abſolute Nature and neceſſity here.

44. He is not yet ſo fond of Honour, as to lay out his endeavours in the purchaſe of places not able to pay for their own Chains; A charge the *Catholick King* is never like to abate ſo long as he is Maſter of *Naples*, *Millan*, &c. that coſt

coſt more to keep, than the profit made of them can compenſe; the like may be yet ſaid of *Ireland*, &c.

45. Their *Ordnance*, found the largeſt in the known world, are carried into the field in the Common Souldiers Pockets.

46. The general *Food* of the *Turks*, both in City and Camp, is *Rice* and *Water*; Their moſt dainty addition being but a *Hen*, or ſome ſmall lump of *Fleſh*. This makes them purſue victory over deſolate Places, and ſtarve ſuch Armies as preſume to follow them, who are as certainly overwhelmed with an Ocean of Neceſſities, as the *Egyptians* were by the *Red Sea*.

47. Their *Expeditions* are not ordinarily undertaken, but in *Summer*; By which many great dangers are prevented, leſs adviſed Princes do daily cope withall, in meeting with *Contingences* that ariſe from *Want* and bad *Weather*, harder to be vanquiſhed than the Enemy himſelf. For though their Numbers be great; yet the little, *Uſe* hath taught them to be content withall, is eaſier met with at that Seaſon, and renders them ſo impregnable againſt what we call *Fortune*, as ſhe may poſſibly bend her Bow, but is not able to diſtreſs them by the ſtrongeſt Arrows her Quiver affords. Beſides the Eccho the *Report* of the *Emperours ſtrength* makes in the hollow hearts, thoſe Princes, it concerns, carry one to the other, is not only Harbinger, but in a great part, Operator of his Victories; when *Chriſtians* march but with part of their ſtrength, leaving the reſt to follow in the

nature,

nature of a *Reserve*, (as if there were hope a paucity should prevail when the gross is beaten, who, if joyning, might possibly have warranted Success) and do by this not only lessen the *Repute* of their Power (of no small consequence in the *Art of War*) but discourage any other from joyning with them, who upon the sound of an *invincible Army* would prick up their Ears.

48. If a *Shock* be given to the *Emperours Forces*, he stays not long enough in that place to receive another, but *returns* home without tempting his Fortune farther that Summer; Wisely concluding it much unlikely (as in truth it is) for a *dishearted Army* to perform what she could not bring about, when the Souldier was in full plight. Neither can the certain *cause* of an *Overthrow* be easily penetrated into; and till that be throughly surveyed, no Prince may in discretion hazard the chance of a *second Battle*, though the *Commanders* appear never so confident of good success; it suiting with their *Interest* both in honour and safety, to venture all, rather than come out of the Field with so great a reproach; Considerations below a Superlative power, to whom *Security* ought to be more dear, than any thing that carries the countenance of greater loss than gain; It not being impossible but that the former disgrace might arise from some *Treachery* in the *Principal Officers*; Therefore it is good Policy to examine every *Card* in the *Pack*, before

before the dealing of a *new Game*, especially upon a fleshed party: Yet with this caution, that many things must be put to the venture by the *Founder of an Empire*, which suit not with the Prudence of one already *established*; For *Repute* far more necessary than *Safety* to the first, is below it many degrees in the second; since he that holds but part of a Cudgel in his hand, may retreat in quiet, but he that hath quite lost it shall be bit by the same dogs that gave way to, or fawned upon him before his force was spent.

49. The *Grand-Signior* (after augmentation of the Empire) is in nothing more studious than of means to *Employ* the *Superfluous* quantity of *Souldiers*, his vast estate produceth. By this making those instrumental to the propagation of honour and dominion, that in such narrow yet fruitful Cockpits as *England*, breed nothing but *Sedition*; and for want of ease and plenty, strive like *Jacob* and his *Brother* for more room; it being possible for evil Government to convert the blessing of *Increase and multiply* into as heavy a curse, as ever yet fell from the mouth of God: Therefore a too zealous prosecution of *Peace* (which some Princes, not unwise in their single judgement called *King Craft*) is a no less vain, than destructive Art; and so unsuitable to the good and safety of any Government, that it hatcheth *Plagues*, or which is more contagious to a State, *Civil War*: Neither can this *Plurisie* be easier cured, or the Spirits of *Rebellion* better evaporated, than by opening the peoples veins in some *Foreign Employment*.

50. The *Turkey Chavalrie* are seldom in evil *plight*, because their *Horses* are still under the owners eye, who for the most part do serve upon them, and have to that end large proportions of *Land* allowed them, with other *immunities* not common to the people, to whom they are both a curb and a protection: And between these and the *Foot* such a feud is bred, either by Custom, Nature, or Art, that it is reported, the *Horse* will (if unprevented) burn their *litter*, lest the *Infantry* should imploy it to their better accomodation: Now though this may look like a prejudice in the field, it secures all fear of *combination* at home. Neither is it a slight addition to security, that the greatest part of this *Militia* consists of such as were selected out of *Children*, *paid for tribute* by conquered Nations, who composed of several airs, cannot associate with that ease as Armies made up of one *Language*; which like the *Swiss*, do not seldom call for *Ghelt* when they have the Enemy in view.

51. Their strength lies in the *Field*, and not in *Fortresses*, looked upon as *nurseries of Rebellion*, especially in so absolute a Tyranny, where it is more common for the *Emperour* to send for the *Head* of a *Bassaw*, than to be denied; A power that would be buried in *stronger Holds*, out of which few would come to such entertainment, as is given to the Grandees upon the least invitation of *Jealousie*. Not to beat more upon this Argument, long since driven up to the head by the best of Judgements, That *fortified places suit the affairs of weak Princes*,

better

better than those of greater strength, &c. he that hath men in abundance needs them no more, than those of narrower confines, and less populous are able to subsist without them.

52. They make not *Religion* the *cause*, or at least proclaim it not for the principal *Motto* of a *War*; which wakens the attentions and invokes the assistance of all the contrary *profession*; the poorest man taking himself so far interested in the Vindication of his *Faith*, that if he hath nothing else to venture, he will account it sacrilege to deny his life: But no sound of that being heard, the voice of hope and fear drowns that of danger and concernment, in the prejudice and hatred they bear to their *Neighbours*; Fathering all misfortune that falls to them upon divine vengeance, in opposition of which they dare not engage; no more than most Princes are willing to part with their *Gold* till it is too late; like the wretched inhabitants of *Constantinople*, who chose rather to lose all in an entire sum, than to break it for the preservation of themselves and their Country. And if any thing could have tempted *Christians* to the rescue of their own interest in the custody of others, it would have been then, when this *Emperial City* was in such danger. But *the Moderation of Cæsars power* was so grateful a Spectacle for the present, as it dazled their apprehensions in relation to any future inconveniences; yet when this *key of Europe* was lost, those that before were quiet, if not contented Spectators, began to mistrust their own doors, and bewail their ignorance, in not foreseeing

that the effects of ſuch a neighbourhood was not ſo eaſily to be reſiſted, as the *Siege* (which was the cauſe) might have been raiſed, had there been a cordial conjunction amongſt thoſe tied in policy to have kept him farther off. Thus by preſuming more on the ſtrength of others, than there is cauſe for, moſt ſtates at laſt come to be diſtreſſed themſelves.

53. Their *Militia* is obſerved to be more daring in their *Chriſtian expeditions*, than thoſe undertaken againſt the *Perſian*; a people looked upon as too near of kin to them in *Religion*, to warrant their *Murdering*: The ſame ſin committed by Princes in groſs, which private perſons do by retail, yet are puniſhed for it in this world, where the other are commended; though the people I deſcribe are too wiſe and affectionate towards the more ſubſtantial part of their *Creed*, to proſecute thoſe of their own *profeſſion* to the fartheſt extent of their power, out of no more ſerious conſideration, than whether their *own*, or the *Perſian Prieſts* delude the people with the greateſt ſhew of Truth, eſpecially both owning one and the ſame ſupream Jugler, *Mahumet*. In this exceeding the prudence, if not the piety of *Chriſtians*, who make the *ſword* an Umpire in the ſmalleſt *differences* of *Opinion*; as if *ſucceſs*, (found as great an aſſertor of the deſigns of theſe *Infidels*, as ever it hath yet appeared in the favour of *Saints*) could be able to bear ſo great a ſtreſs, as the weight of *Religion*, on which depends *Salvation*, not poſſibly to be brought about by the wicked Engines, daily

daily employed by Princes and men in power, to keep Victory faſtened to their Tent-doors: It being the *Sufferings*, not the *Valour* of our Champion *CHRIST*, that can enroll us in the Heavenly *Hoſt*: For though we dare not give *ſucceſs* to *Fortune*, any more than we are able to wreſt her out of the hand of *God*; yet we find by experience, that the wheels of her Chariot are too weak, dirty, and unſteaddy, for *Truth* to triumph in, much leſs to be made captive to any others *Interpretation* than her own.

54. And though the paint of *Religion* is the ordinary Charm that raiſeth the impetuous ſpirits of the people into ſtorms (by which they can ſooner deſtroy others than ſave themſelves; no reparations being to be procured but out of their own purſes, who may far eaſier change their Maſters, than find better) yet is *Blood* very unſutable to the taſt of true *Religion*, which participates more of the *Lamb*, than the *Lion*, having been ever readier to ſuffer wrong, than do it; till the *Prieſts* of old, as ſome think, firſt, for the Princes ſake, and after for their own, had, not only taught her the art of Jugling, but made her ſo tetchey by the corroding doctrines they inſtill'd into mens conſciences, upon the leaſt worldly occaſion, that brought their Honour or Profit under queſtion; far repugnant to the firſt intent of *Religion*, which was to ſet a bar againſt ſtrife, and all other unnatural deſires, men, without the awe of God, are apt to fall into; *Oppreſſion* being a general miſchief, all are liable to, either in childhood or old age: This

brought *Governments* into use among such as had felt the heavy experiment of *Anarchy*; to avoid which nothing contributes more than *Unity* in *Religion*, and where that cannot be compassed without much strife, a *Liberty* to profess what opinions men please, provided they be not repugnant to the general welfare.

54. Wherefore *Mahumet* and his successors, the better to gain the love of the people to *Religion*, tempered it with so much moderation, as it rather *enclines to Hope* than *Fear*; wisely foreseeing, that nothing makes Subjects recoil more from their *Obedience*, than when they are loaded with a conceit that their *Governours* lead them in the way to *Hell*. This gives me occasion to think, that the *Goblings* armed by the *Catholicks* with so much terror, may possibly like the *Elephants* of *Pyrrhus* fall foul upon themselves, and bring their *Religion* into a low contempt, through an apparent detection, or a panick fear; not so likely to attach the Creed of the *Turks*, who have no painting to communicate any thing subject to gather so much dross, as might enform the people, they are but the effects of humane Art; nor *Priests* that dare be so bold as to put a greater *Excise* upon the *Sins* of the people, or the price of *Heaven*, than stands with the conveniency or *Reason of State*. Thus are the *Turkish Souldiers* bred in no less *Obedience* than *Valour*; which are indeed the most saving Articles of their Belief, and though undervalued by us, that expect after death a less carnal Heaven; yet nothing causeth their *Unity* more,

more, or is a greater provocation to *augmentation of Empire*, than the *conformity* held by their *Priests* in the inculcation of their *Doctrine*, not perplexing their consciences with useless terrours or hard questions; making no sins so damnable as *Cowardice* and *Disobedience* to the Commands of their Leaders; Eyeing *Christians* with a high disdain, for casting so many doubts, and bushing the way to Heaven with *Purgatory*, and other *Bugbears*, which they place in the dark Entry, all are to pass between this world and the next: Though a blind man may see, it is not consonant either to the belief of *Prince* or *Priest*: And these *Chimera's* are thought, by the *Mahumetans*, to intimidate *Souldiers*, by making them *Atheists*, and so in hope of no better; or *superstitious*, which keeps them still in expectation of a world: This people being no less hardened with *Discipline*, against the pleasures of this, than assured by *Doctrine*, they shall enjoy the same and greater in the world to come: according to an ordinary saying among them: That if *Christians* carried the same opinions concerning Heaven in their Hearts, as are every where found in their Books, they would not be so afraid of *Death* the only way thither.

56. The *Turks* esteem *Fate inexorable*; which steels their foreheads no less against the sharpest *danger*, than it smooths them towards the severest *Discipline*; yet in the midst of this belief, admit a necessary use of *Prayer*: As if importunity could be any way prevalent, where an unchangeable Resolution is acknowledged.

It cannot be denyed, there is a wide room left for *giving Thanks*, and praiſing God, for diſpoſing things ſo much to our advantage; but this perhaps cannot ſo ſeaſonably be done till his will be revealed.

57. *Images*, reverenced in *Chriſtian Churches*, bar the doors againſt both *Turk* and *Jew*; who count us worſe than Canibals for *eating our God*, as they ſay we do in the Eucharift: a ſcandal we owe to the *Court* of *Rome*.

58. Notwithſtanding the incomparable *ſtrength* of this *Lion*, you may find all his *Treaties* lined with the fur of a *Fox*, not tying himſelf up ſo ſtraight by Promiſe or Obligation, but that he hath ſtill a muſe open to break through upon any great advantage: And in this he is not a little beholding to the manner of his *Stile*, alwaies fuller of *Hyperbolical* Civilities than real Aſſurances; yet rather than leave his *Repute* under the reproach of a *broken Faith*, he lays the fault upon the miſtake of ſome Miniſter of State, by whoſe blood he expungeth all ſtains of Diſhonour, not leaving them legible by any of his own, but ſuch as have learned to decypher the *Character of Princes*, who are but few in this well-compoſed Government, and thoſe comfortably employed in publick Service, or decently laid by, for prevention of miſchief: It remaining paſt peradventure, That *ſuch as have Heads apt for Counſel, may, upon a Diſcontent, find Hearts as apt for Rebellion.*

59. Though this *Monarch*, if he ſtands right in his *Subjects eſteem*, is not very *ſolicitous* after [illegible]*te* from *Strangers*; yet, by reaſon of his vaſt

vaſt Power, he is not often neceſſitated to tread ſuch *baſe paths*, as our *weaker Princes* are forced to walk in, that have for the moſt part nothing but *Shifts* to ſubſiſt by; which like *Mines* under the walls of Towns, bring more prejudice than gain, if they come to be diſcovered by the contrary party; from which it is not eaſie to conceal them, if once they are flown out of the boſom that hatched them: ſuch folly and falſhood is bound up in the hearts of *Embaſſadors*. Beſides the frequent *Perjury* of *Princes* hath ſo vilified the price of *Oaths*, as they ſerve for little more than *Ceremony* of State, and to bait traps for their poor Subjects and other weak and ill-adviſed Strangers. Which may give an occaſion for an Enquiry, that ſince all men cannot agree, Whether a *Toleration of their ſeveral Religions* may not be with more Charity admitted, than every one perſecuted, as we find they are in one place or other? And becauſe *one God* is univerſally owned, all Proteſtations ſhould be taken under that ſingle Name, without any other addition; many bearing an awful reverence to *That*, who look upon the reſt as products of *Policy*, and therefore leave room for ſuch mental reſervations as the Prieſts, no leſs than the Grandees have too long abuſed the world withall. And till a reverence, ſtill begun at the Head, be real, or unapprehenſibly feigned, it is folly to expect performance of *Oaths* in the Members. This arraigns all Princes of madneſs, that reſt ſecure upon the *Fidelity* of their *Subjects*, after they have forfeited their own by illegal and exorbitant

Taxes.

Turks. Nor is *Perjury* found so frequently amongst those esteemed *Infidels*, as our *very Professors*, that have *Religion* still in their mouths, and the *Bible* in their Eye; Not that a practice of *holy Duties* can possibly be more the reason of *Falsehood* in the one, than *Profaneness* of *Truth* in the other; But having made themselves more familiar with the Mercy, than Justice of God, and presuming upon the certainty of their own *Salvation*, and *Damnation* of others, for which they have no better warrant than the voice of a Spirit, conjured up only in their Imaginations; the more to be suspected, because it befriends no other interest but their own, they think to make God amends some other way; whereas a poor *Sinner*, that hath once been hunted home with the fierce conflicts of a wearied *Conscience* (sharper far than the *Humiliations*, these outward *Professors* proportion to themselves,) dares not venture on so dear an Impiety, out of hope to digest it the next *Fast*. And if I am not much mistaken, the *Turks* bear a more awful reverence to *Oaths*, than *Christians*; nor are they found to allay it with the poysonous mixture of *Æquivocation*, though the *Jews* that live among them are more indifferent what they attest. A sad thing, that such as were formerly, and those that are now the people of God, should exceed *Infidels* in so foul and unsociable an Impiety. Which that they may the better prevent; Though the bare *attestation* of a *Musselman*, or *Turkish Believer* is often taken for for an authentick Proof against a *Stranger*; Yet in their ordinary *Trials* between one another,

ther, they proceed with more Caution, so as not to rely upon *Oaths* themselves; but from private *Examinations*, and *Questions* so unexpected and artificially put, as no premeditated *Combination* can evade, they extract grounds for Sentence: By which, malice is defeated, and perjury prevented, frequent amongst us, where the Lives and Estates of conscientious people are without remedy exposed to their mercy, who scruple not the calling God to the witness of a Lie. Nor can there be imagined any better way how to avoid this mischief, or yield a sincere and faithful Obedience to the precept of our *Saviour*, *Swear not at all*, &c. (Which the corrupt *glosses* of *Expositors* labour much, though all in vain, to elude) than, if, instead of that slight and irreverent manner of *Swearing*, or rather prostituting the Word of God to the *kiss* of impure lips, according to the loose custom of all our *Courts* of *Judicature*, the Judges themselves, or those appointed for that purpose, would take the pains, by the touch-stone of a diligent scrutiny, and scrupulous examination of Witnesses apart, to distinguish the pure and golden *Truth*, from the baser Alchymy of the most cunningly-forged Falshood.

60. They prefer *Christianity* so far, as *no Jew can turn Turk till he hath been Christened*: the vulgar thinking God best pleased with such a *gradation*, though Authority interjected this *Ceremony* to fence them against a too great concourse of this *subtil people*, who in relation to *Circumcision*, are apter to embrace their

Religion

Religion than ours; and do by their *Conversion* leſſen the *profit* ariſing from them as *Jews*. Now leaſt the Impiety of caſting blocks in the way of *Proſelytes* ſhould ſeem to relate only to this ſo much abominated Nation, I deſire to be informed, if there be not a Law in force here, at the *Jews* being in *England* as there is ſtill in ſome other Nations, *That ſuch of them as turned Chriſtians, ſhould looſe all, or the greateſt part of what they had.* For which this pious reaſon was given, That many remained *Jews* ſtill in their hearts, notwithſtanding an outward profeſſion: Thus a greater *Hypocriſie* cheated the leſs.

61. I find them, though conſtant to their own, yet ſo indulgent to the opinions of *Strangers*, as to afford ſuch a ſafe paſs among them: which, beſides the profit it brings to Commerce, keeps them in ſo *moderate* a temper, as the *plague of Hypocriſie* (which like an *Iron-mole*, ſtains, and in a ſhort time eats out the purity of *Religion*, by acting a ſublimer impiety than the nature of man, unſuborned through Ambition or Covetouſneſs, is able to make real, longer than a Fanatick heat inſpires it) hath not yet there broke out farther than among ſome few particulars; though by ſuch the Cockatrice of *Civil War* is ordinarily diſcloſed in the Boſoms of *Chriſtians*, concluding all damned which reſt not in their Expoſitions and Cuſtoms, how ridiculous ſoever: Not conſidering the miſchief they do, that remove old uncertain *Errours*, before they have found as certain *Truth* to put

in

in their room. The ſame may be ſaid of reputed inconveniences; ſuch as is their conniving at Courteſans (chiefly done to prevent *Adultery*, *Sodomy*, and *Beſtiality*; ſins infeſting theſe hot Countrys therefore) poſſibly leſs abominable, than ſome Divines make it. This ſort of *Caſtle* being as ancient as the Patriarch *Judah*: Neither did divers others, looked upon as *men after Gods own heart*, bluſh to keep droves of them: Nay, if ſome be not ſoully out in their Expoſitions, they are reckoned to *David* in the Bill of *Gods Bleſſings*: And he that doth by this publick ſin, as ſome have done by *Religion*, exchange it for a *worſe* (though perhaps more ſolitary;) I pray what hath the Nation left to brag of? Faults of greater privacy, though leſs natural, increaſing *Hypocrites* more than *Saints*. And if our Bleſſed *Saviour* ſhould now ſpeak to the Conſciences of men, as he did to the Jews, *He that is without Sin*, &c. I believe *Fornication* would ſcape, whatever became of *Adultery*. To conclude this point, it is ſo much the greater boldneſs, to add to, than diminiſh from the ſeverity of God, as we ſtand more in need of his Mercy than Juſtice.

62. The groſs of their *Revenue* is employed in ſecuring the *Empire* at *home*, or fetching *Victory* from *abroad*: The *Grand Signior* being only luxurious in *Women*, and *domeſtick pleaſures*; which like *Fontanels* in the body, may poſſibly evaporate worſe humours than they foment: Though contrary to the better inculcated, than practiſed Doctrine of our *Theologues*, eſpecially

especially those of the Church of *Rome*; *Catholick Kings* rather conniving at this mischief, than the perpetual inconveniences resulting from a *married Clergy*, who by giving their *Children* better *breeding* than *Estates*, are the cause they do not seldom fall into *extortions*.

63. REpute hath swell'd the *Sultan's* power to such a vast Monstrosity, and so far dazled the eyes of *Christian Princes*, wedded by *divisions in Religion*, that they dare not look upon him without a Present: Neither is the *Persian* much bolder, which gives him the advantage, no less than Honour to be still on the *offensive*: And in this the generosity he useth, to divulge the *Prince*, if not the *place* he meaneth next to attack, turns more to his advantage, than may appear to every eye; other Nations resting so secure upon this, as they do not provide, if at all, a defence proportionable to the danger; which if once made ready, could not be laid out to a more probable advantage for themselves and *Christendom*, than in stopping the progress of this *Polyphæmus*, who is likely, if not prevented by some civil Rupture, to devour all the *Italian Principalities*, if once he ravish the *Venetian*, whose hands have been weakned by the longest War, that ever any single State maintained against this Monster, who for want of assistance, cannot choose but shortly yield up *Candy* to his Lust: And then our *drousie Princes*, who were no more affected

with

with her Cries, than wakened by the noise of her Cannon, and the voice of Prudence daily roaring in their ears, shall lament their Errour, and curse themselves, and the Counsel that moved them to observe this unnatural *Neutrality*, and to prefer a little pleasure they take in gratifying the envy they have ever born to this more magnificent Republick (tyed by all reason to maintain the smaller States of *Italy* in being) before the assuring of their fears by a cordial combining against this common enemy, of whose mercy they can have no hope; Nothing being more suitable to his former procedure, or future security, than utterly to eradicate them, long looked upon by him as the only obstructers of his farther progress into *Christendom*: Though apparently known, that what the *Venetians* do, is rather by the strength of their *Heads*, than *Hands*; having not yet made themselves very famous for Valour, participating not so much of the *Lion*, as *Fox*, with whose skin most of their Atchievements are found to be lined; being themselves, if fools in any thing, in the excessive awe they stand of, Death, the cause they employ *Strangers*. Neither is it a less wonder, that *France*, *Spain*, and other potent Nations, do daily pass by greater affronts received from the *Ottoman Empire*, without the least notice taken, than they are observed to fight for among themselves, as if nothing could be dishonourable or unsafe, but what arises from the injuries of men

of

of the *same Religion*; an argument of as great Imprudence, as Impiety, especially resulting from the Omission, if not Commission of the *Court* of *Rome*: For did the *Jesuites* and other active *Priests* turn the tide of their *Policy* (which hath already immerged *Europe* in *blood*) towards the *Turks*, they might soon be overflown by as great a deluge of *Schisms*, as we are now plunged in: But the fear of losing the *Bird* in *hand*, makes the Pope unwilling to imploy his Engines for the taking of this: Not considering that the *Mahumetan profession* is grown up to as high an earthly *Felicity*, *Universality*, and *Consent*, as the *Papacy*; Neither do they want as great an *Antiquity* for some of their *Tenets*, the which if they once come to be washed over by the varnish of *Learning*, the *Mufty* may, assisted by his Masters force, turn his *Holiness* out of *Rome*, as that *Bishop* did the *Emperours*; and so avenge *Europe* and *Asia* both, for the rent the subtil *Priests* made between the *East* and the *West Churches*, for no more religious respect, than to beautifie their own habit and increase their Power.

And if the Virgin-City of *Venice* comes to be wholly prostituted to the *lust* of this *Monster*, who hath already intangled his *Sword* in one of her strongest *Locks*, it is possible the *Catholick King* shall not be able long to enjoy those *Concubinary Principalities*, made his by no juster Contract, than the *Procuration* of his Chaplain, the *Pope*, his own Subtilty, and the impertinent Quarrels of less advised Neighbours:

But

But to give the *Pope* his due (looked upon by the dazled eyes of our Zelots, for a more terrible Devil than it may be he is, were he confined within a narrower Circle, in relation to temporal power) *Christian Princes* are apt to take so much advantage from the harping irons *Luther*, *Calvin*, and other Divines (perhaps better skill'd in subverting *Errors*, than reconciling of *Truth*) have fastened in the sides of this Ecclesiastical *Leviathan*, not to be kept floating in a narrower *Sea* than that of *Rome*, (formerly as Magisterial in things *temporal*, as now she remains in *Spirituals*, which prudence might manage to as universal a tranquility, as appeared in the days of *Augustus*) that he hath no leisure to look abroad, for fear the same Spirit that troubled the waters in *Germany*, should dry up those in *Italy*, *&c.* It being in the power of every Prince to cut the Banks of the Church, which in *France* is the fear of *Schism*, and in the *Catholick King*'s Dominions, the *Inquisition*. Yet in-case his Holiness should make it a cordial endeavour to foment a League against the *Turk*, *France*, and *Spain*, would fall out who should head it, and endeavour to spoil the others Subjects in the mean time: Such incomparable *Charity* resides among Christian Princes, that value *Religion* no higher than the profit it brings; so as the *Roman* Bishop, with all his Emissaries, have full imployment by adding and taking away, to keep the Scales even, between these two tottering Princes, and to heighten their spirits against *England* and other Nations at enmity with

Rome; leſt we ſhould have a *Great Turk* of our own; that is, an *Univerſal Monarch*, under whoſe abſolute power the *Pope* and all other *Chriſtian Princes* could expect no higher places than thoſe of Vaſſals. And though a *Combination* were feaſible, ſmall advantage would accrue; ſince every conſiderable *confederate* muſt have a *General* of their own; from whence would proceed more *Cry* than *Wooll*, by perplexing Councils with contrary commands: Becauſe, if it were probable, Kings ſhould ſo far forget their *Honour*, as to lay down all Diſputes about precedence, yet their particular *Intereſt* could not but remember them, that the ſtrength deſigned againſt the *Turk*, might, after ſucceſs, recoil upon themſelves, not without a preſident in Story: and therefore not likely to imploy any other in *Chief*, but their own Subjects. And what contrary affections, ends, and endeavours are covered under a Force patched up of ſo many Nations, is manifeſt in the *Maritime* battel of *Lepanto*: where, though the deſire of all might be to eclipſe the *Ottoman* Moon; yet it was in many ſo faint, as they could not endure it ſhould be removed quite out of its Sphere, or loſe the Intereſt it doth exerciſe within the *Chriſtian Pale* (which by a through perſecution of that *naval victory*, might eaſily have been brought about) out of fear, the *greater Princes*, by that ſecured, ſhould after have made it their endeavor to devour the *leſs*: And this (with ſome Umbrages of *Jealouſies* the *Catholick King* had of his brother *Don John*

of

of *Auſtria*) made the *Confederates* return without doing more than ſhew the *Grand Seignior* wherein he was defective, and by this chaſtizing to make him mend the fault he had committed in being no better provided of *Commanders* and *Proviſions for Sea*, which he hath ſince repaired at our coſt, by maintaining an *Arcenal* in *Algiers*, of which the King of *Spain* denied his Brother to be *Governour*; ſo jealous are *Chriſtians* one of the other, that they have more confidence in *Turks*, than thoſe of their own Religion: yet, to ſpeak Gods truth; whoſoever ſhall command an Army againſt this Epidemical Enemy, with ſuch ſucceſs as *Don John* had, will be owner of too popular an Honour, to be leſs than ſuperlative whereever he comes, and therefore liable, like him, to receive a *Fig* out of the venomous hand of *Jealouſie*. Which warrants me to think, the fitteſt for ſuch an imployment as the heading an Army raiſed by a League, is the *Pope*, who lying within Gun-ſhot himſelf, is the moſt likely to take the trueſt aim at the finiſhing of the work: But this the *Lutherans* and *Proteſtants* would oppoſe, no leſs than the Princes of *Italy*, who cannot but fear, that the power of the *Ottoman Family* being ſufficiently moderated, he could have no better imployment for the Army, than to face them with it, looked upon perhaps in his eſteem, as greater Enemies: Yet if there were an *unity in Religion*, and a total abatement of his *Holineſs* pretences to any *Secular Power*, farther than the extent of *Peters Patrimony*, it might

with more probability be brought about, than any temporal Prince is able to give caution for: And thus *Policy* might not only make use of him, in opposing the *Turk*, but in reconciling such *Kings*, as when they are weary of their inconsiderate *Quarrels*, know no other way to bring about Peace, than by the mediation of the Bishop of *Rome*. But as things now stand, Experience hath taught us how vain a Composition of Force is, in the attempt of moderating the *Ottoman Grandeur*: Nor is any Prince yet in a capacity to undertake him alone; The *Emperour* being shackled by the links of contrary Opinions, and now utterly disabled since the *Swedes* Incursion: I confess, the *Catholick King*, upon whose skirts he sits, were the most likely to get ground upon the *Turks* Dominions, did not the *French* perplex him with the fear of losing his own: Between which Nations there can be no reconciliation, so long as the *Popes* greatness is supported by Division; An *Universal Monarchy* in *Europe* being more against the grain of the Court of *Rome*, than it yet apprehends danger from that in *Asia*; so as it is no improbable Paradox to maintain, *That the Turk by accident supports his Holiness*: And if the *Pope* and *Inquisition* were put down, *Atheism* would break in like a Torrent; or, which is worse, *Religion* would be divided into such destructive, bloody, and hypocritical streams, as her name would be quite lost in the dilatation, or render her Professors as odious as ever they were to the *Heathen Emperours*: especially since she hath

hath in all places, and under every Profeſſion, learned of Ambition to lay out the price of her Salvation in a *field of Blood*, without reſpect had to *Covenants*, *Oaths*, *Allegiance*, or the moſt natural and obliging Relations; therefore formidable to *Kings*, whoſe ſingle and open boſoms render them a fair mark, not only to the forked Tongues, but the venomous tempered Steel of an exaſperated Zeal; ſo not likely to be entertained in any place, but where her own Sword ſhall be able to bid her welcom: The *Beauty of Holineſs*, with which ſhe was wont to allure *Proſelytes*, being now ſhrivelled into uglineſs, by her frequent application of the ſublimated paint of Hypocriſie; ſo generally obſerved among *Chriſtians*, as neither the *Turk*, or any other *Mahumetan* Nation can, in Prudence, if in Piety, barter their Faith for ours; The drought of whoſe Charity hath obſtructed the means of Converſion in relation to all Foreigners not formerly engaged by Birth and Education: ſo as no probability reſides in any endeavour can be uſed to tempt the *Turks* from *Mahumet*, unleſs (as I hinted before) ſome *Jeſuite* were able to perſonate his Ghoſt, and proclaim himſelf riſen, according to their Prophets long delaid promiſe: for ſuch an one might poſſibly prevail ſo far upon the Rabble, as to make them fall foul among themſelves: *A breach in Religion* being found by experience the readieſt way to let in that Ocean of Calamities, we ſee overflows the Kingdoms of the Earth.

Another Expedient may lie in ſupporting

ting such *Cedars of State*, as are marked out for ruine by the Fears or Fury of the Prince; and if possible, to give *shelter* to some of the younger *Royal Branches*, who are sure upon their Fathers death to be sacrificed to the security of the elder; and may, as occasion serves, facilitate a *Rebellion*, by landing an Army able to make good the Field, whilst the Snow-ball is gathering: A project most convenient for the Wisdom and Scituation of *Venice*, were she owner of the Power and extent of Territory belonging to old *Rome*, whose Heir she deserves best to be, since she alone retains more of her Freedom than all the known World besides is able to produce: Her *Government* being built on such rational, if not infallible *Maxims*, as might bear the weight of a far greater frame, if *Italy* were wise enough to see it; who need not be concubinary to so many wanton desires of Strangers, would all her small and new-hatched *Governments* shelter themselves under her Wings, who are known to spend more severally in hiring of Peace from the *Turk*, *Spaniard*, *Pope*, *&c.* than wisely laid out in an intire sum, would purchase the power to command it.

From whence may be concluded, If the *Grand Seignior* do not fall through his own weight, he may live to see *Europe* under as great a thraldom in every relation to body and soul, as *Turkey*, unless he be cordially opposed at his own door: *Tyrants*, like Dogs, having their fierceness rather whetted than rebated by a defensive opposition; whereas he that breaks reso-

reſolutely in upon them, makes them not ſeldom take their heels: All *changes* in ſuch an extremity being looked upon with delight and affection at home, by thoſe that abroad would die to extend the ſame Government over others: *Oppreſſion* being ſo odious to Subjects, as all will upon any probable advantage promote its deſtruction to the very perſons that ſhare in their deſires with the *Monarch*, wanting the power more than the will to perpetrate the like degree of injuſtice themſelves.

64. The *Turk* deduceth this Doctrine out of the perfidiouſneſs of the *Chriſtian* Practice, *That it is to little purpoſe* (by reaſon of the contrary pretences) *to make Leagues Offenſive and Defenſive*, which he hath ſeldom done; yet conſiders his *Neighbours dangers* as his own, before delay hath rendred them incurable; Apparent in the large offers he made to *Venice*, whileſt ſhe lay under the interdict of *Paul* the fifth; and might, if her Subjects had not been wiſer, through civil Diviſions have lapſed into the hands of *Spain*, as divers Nations leſs prudent have done, by their own folly and a ſtupid patience of their neighbours, whoſe ordinary cuſtom is to forbear giving aſſiſtance, till it is rendred unſeaſonable, and that they are not able to redeem them by all their endeavours, much leſs by a too late repentance; as in the caſe of *Navarre*, neglected by the Crown of *France*; and Dutchy of *Lorain*, by that of *Spain*: Any Augmentation to one of theſe Kingdoms being an equal Diminution from the other; the

conſideration of which keeps *Geneva* in being. And the averſneſs the *Turk* hath towards any ſtrict *Confederation* with Foreigners, gives him not only the liberty to preſerve his friends, but to take any advantage to enlarge himſelf: His Subjects not having ſuch vaſt Eſtates abroad, as might deterr him from taking a revenge in caſe of injury, for fear of an *Enlargement*: whereas Chriſtians have Warehouſes in *Conſtantinople* full of wealth, and to ſuch a value, as give this Infidel caution for his uſing us at his pleaſure without danger: Nor have we more than the *Emperours* bare *word* to ſecure our *Trade*, which it is likely you may tell me, he obſerves as religiouſly as other Princes.

Neither is he prodigal in *Embaſſadors*: for, keeping ſtill the offenſive end of the Staff, he is often ſued to, but ſeldom ſends a wooing for *Peace*; which obtained, is found of no longer life than it ſuits with the occaſions and counſels of both parties: Therefore *Confederations*, *Truces*, and *Leagues*, ſignifie nothing but danger to the weaker ſide, who by theſe are not ſeldom tempted to neglect the guard that cannot in prudence be leſſened upon this ſcore, it being an infallible certainty, that nothing moves another, but Profit, Honour, or Nature; The laſt of which doth leſs concern the *Grand Seignior*, becauſe he ſeeks not to *match* his *Daughters* out of his own Territories, eſteeming no blood Royal but what runs in his own veins, and his that is to ſucceed him: Neither is he licoriſh after the choice of the *Iſſue of Kings* for

for his *own Bed*, finding the ſame content in the embraces of a *Subject* or a *Slave*, that a more bewitched Imagination apprehends in thoſe of a *Princeſs*: Nor doth his modeſty abuſe him, but acquits him from the danger of having a *Spie in his Boſom*, or a coequal in his Counſels; giving him leave to put to death or exchange his *Wives* upon occaſion, without the fear of any other frown but that of *Heaven*; amongſt whoſe joys (according to his Creed) is *Change of Women and all carnal Delights*.

And by the diviſion he makes of his Love among *many Wives*, he renders the Government leſs factious; the *Diſtaff* having been found no friend to the *Scepter*, opening often a back door to *Innovation*; apparent in *Chriſtians*, who *Marrying* the daughters of more potent Princes than themſelves, are ſo far over-awed by them, as to make them Partners in their moſt ſecret deſigns, elſe they are able to diſtreſs them through the ſtrength of their own Friends. Thus a *Prince* comes to have an *Enemy in his boſom*, and ſuch an one as he dares not queſtion, for fear of a ſhower at home, and a ſtorm from abroad. So as if all the benefit Story can record to have (at leaſt of late) accrued to *Kings* from the great *Allies* of their *Wives*, were put together, you ſhall find it inconſiderable, computed with the loſs, eſpecially if their *Religion* differs; for then ſhe looking upon him as out of the reach of Gods mercy, can think nothing an injury to his perſon, or a loſs to his eſtate, if her *ghoſtly fathers*

Fathers are pleaſed to encourage her; Conſiderations without bottom in this *Conformity* in *Profeſſion*, and *Parity* in *Subjection*; where the birth of the *firſt Son* gives the title of *Sultana* to a Slave, the higheſt honour or employment a Woman can be born to: and what might abundantly content them alſo in *Europe*, where they are made the *Arbitrators of the Royal Line.*

65. The *Emperour* appears not in *publick*, but on *Horſeback*, where all *Deformities*, if he owes any, are beſt concealed; And is then in ſuch *Splendor*: as the former-engaged opinion of the multitude renders him more than Humane; whereas our leſs Majeſtick *Princes* become ſo cheap by their daily figging up and down the ſtreets after their pleaſures unattended, whileſt this graver *Monarch* enjoys them all under his own roof: where none are ſuffered to enter, but thoſe that are *dumb* from their Births, or are rendred ſo through fear or uſe; no action or word breathed out of the *Seraglio*, to the Emperors diſadvantage, but proves mortal to the divulger: Not poſſible to be obſerved among *Chriſtians*, whoſe *Meals*, like *Puppet-plays*, are made the object of all Eyes, and their lighteſt *Diſcourſes* (apt then to break out) the ſcorn of Strangers, that blow them over the four corners of the Earth, with no ſmall addition; whileſt their own Subjects calculate a crooked Nature from the *Deformities* of their *Bodies*; evil *Geſtures*, or a too luxurious taking in of their *Wine* or *Meat*: It not being eaſie to ſhew a man at a greater diſad-

diſadvantage, than whileſt he is taking his *Repaſt*, the moſt certain *Symbol of Mortality*. This altogether caſts no leſs cloud over their *Majeſty*, than their *Cheats* and *Perjuries*, to procure money, are obſerved to do upon their *Probity*: which raiſeth ſuch a damp of *Contempt* about the *Throne*, as the Obedience they own, proceeds rather from a dread of their preſent Power, than any voluntary or natural affection their Subjects bear to them or their vertues; of which they have ſo low eſteem, as they think them eaſie to be matched, if not by themſelves, by a number their Commerce and Experience hath coped withal.

66. In *Progreſs* his *Train* is not inferiour to an *Army*; in which he receives all graciouſly that come to ſee him: And by this *ſtrength* and *affability* the remoteſt parts are not only wooed to *Obedience*, but terrified from *Inſurrections*; calculating by the Power attending him in his Pleaſures, the terribleneſs of a Force that ſhould be raiſed in his Fury: Notwithſtanding at this time nothing appears about him but *Love* in his words, and *Charity* in his actions; For where he ſees the Earth covered with *Poor*, he caſts his Mony; which, like water put into a Pump, gives him the opportunity ſafely to drein the more affluent *Rich*. This makes the Generality look upon him as a God, that may give way to Puniſhment, never to Paſſion.

67. He owns not in his *Royal Perſon* any ingrateful *Impoſition*, but appears ever before his people like the Sun, carrying in his looks no leſs Serenity than Splendour in all about him;

him; and answers any clamours of *Joy* with as cordial *Blessings* and Thanks: knowing it as uncomely for a *Prince* in publick to seem *angry*, as *poor*; That threatning no less danger to the *Lives*, than This doth presage incroachment upon the Fortunes of all that come to see him. And though none can more freely command what belongs to his Subjects, he discovers no will to imploy any *Arbitrary Power* in his *own Person*, how well soever it suits with his Nature or Occasions; Handling all *Grievances* to his People by the mediation of others, whom upon emergency he delivers up to their Fury. Neither doth this lessen the number of these *Harpies*, any more than it doth *Conjurers* to hear their Predecessors were torn in pieces by the command of those they had formerly nourished with their Blood. Thus by such *amiable gestures*, and the high price he seems in publick to set upon the *Nations content*, so great a *Love* is kindled in the hearts of his Subjects, that all the evils that fall upon them are removed from the principal cause, and attributed to such as are only instrumental in their promotion. A practice waved by our less advised *Monarchs*, who sit in *Parliament*, as *Jupiter* is painted, with *Thunder* in their hands, as if they had already the will and power, and wanted nothing but their Peoples consent to make them miserable; not affording a grateful concession, but by the high and rugged way of *Exchange*; nor good words, but to usher in a more chargeable Request; scorning to reckon with the Subject, and make even for

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their *Minions* and Officers Faults, till they are ſo far run in the account of Prejudice, that all Love and Obedience is quite forfeited, and the Crown expoſed to the purchaſe of any that hath the ſubtilty and power to buy it.

68. For to obviate the like miſcarriage, the *Turk* gives often a favourable hearing to ſuch as *complain* of the *Grandees*, not ſeldom gratifying them with the Heads of their *Oppreſſors*: By which he doth not only ſtop the mouths of his People with a ſhew of Piety and Juſtice, but fills his *Exchequer* with the real Coin he finds about thoſe thus complained of: Yet if he takes the Parties *Life* to be more conſiderable to his affairs than his *Death*, he ſatisfies the publick diſcontent, by tranſlating the Offender to ſome *remoter imployment*; where, being farther from the *Court*, ſeverity may be more neceſſary, at leaſt not ſo diſhonourable, as when it appears at the foot of his Chair: Thinking it not ſafe to gall the many-headed Monſter twice in a *Place*, with one and the ſame *Engine*. And by this even and conſtant procedure, an uninterrupted *Proſperity* hath been entailed to this *Empire*, that the voice of *Liberty* continues ſtill ſuch a ſtranger in their ſtreets, as if their Language were barren of a word to expreſs it. Thus by claiming nothing, he enjoys all, and by defending none of his bad Inſtruments, hath been ſecure himſelf, till theſe latter years, in which ſome Conſtellation ſeems to hover over the World, inclining all Nations to *Rebellion*. This imboldens me to aſſert it as a Maxime, That *Princes*

contrati

contract more hatred from the injuſtice and oppreſſions of their Favourites, than their own: A far leſs *Revenue* than doth legally depend on a *Crown*, being able to correſpond for a greater ſum, than the follies of a ſingle Perſon can poſſibly conſume, unleſs attached by the bottomleſs humour of *Play*, which a prudent Prince cannot chooſe but look upon as far below the dignity of his Perſon; it being impoſſible for him either to win or loſe, but at the prejudice of his *Courtiers or Subjects.*

69. Here is no *medium* between the *Anger* of the *Sultan* and Death: A great man ſtead out of Office, being rarely or never permitted to mingle among the People, who are eaſily ſuborned out of pity, to believe ſuch perſecuted for their ſakes: Therefore *Diſcontent* is not ſuffered to live; the *Power* being as ſeverely puniſhed, as the *Will* to do Miſchief: This makes the *Grandees* to carry their bodies ſwimming between *Popularity* and an *epidemical Diſlike:* ſince though the firſt be the moſt certain Meſſenger of Death, yet the latter doth not ſeldom bring the ſame errand; For, ſuch as by *Taxes* or *perverting* of *Juſtice* (though by the *Emperours* command) are found abuſers of the People, die ſome cruel death, to give the more publick ſatisfaction; whereas thoſe who fall under his *Jealouſie*, in relation to his particular ſafety, leave the World by a leſs painful *exit*; which may breed an opinion in the Multitude, That their Prince is only cruel on their behalf, and at the worſt but ſevere in his own. Here the vanity of *Court Minions* is manifeſt, who like Beaſts

Beasts for Sacrifice are crowned and honoured, till their *Masters* sins require their blood to set him right in the opinion of the People; in the fury of whom lies all the *Hell*, the Religion of most Princes teacheth them to apprehend.

70. THe *Priests* serue up to the height of *Miracles* all *unusual Contingencies*, which make not a few in such a Mass of Events; neither is their Report wanting to augment them: And these are still hanged before the eyes of the People, either to terrifie or allure them, as it suits with the present humour of State. And thus the *Popish Legend* came to be gilded by so many miraculous effects of *Saints*, and their *Reliques*, which, after all contradiction was buried, appeared to the World under no less than a cloud of witnesses: Being capable of no stronger confutation than what they receive from a present incapacity of doing the like. Now if the *Turks* have been too numerous in their election, or hyperbolical in the predication of these *pious*, or rather useful *deceits*, the error is committed after the example of the Court of *Rome*, the most exact Copy for Policy the World affords. Nor is there place left for blame in relation to either, since what was obtruded upon the *Catholicks* heretofore, suited as well the apprehensions of those times, as these do now the *Turks*: Therefore the imprudence lies not in the folly of the *Miracles*, but theirs, who suffered such a Critical *Learning* to blaze out, as pretends matter of *Reproof* in all things

things extant: *Knowledge* being as great an enemy to our preſent felicity, as it was to that in *Paradiſe*: So as *Rome* is forced at this day to let *Miracles* fall, out of fear to find her ſelf detected by the now ſupernumerary iſſue of tatling *Apolla*; which out of too much *Wit*, or too little *Faith*, make an over-ſtrict ſcrutiny into their Trade, hanging like *Locuſts*, and croaking like *Frogs*, about all things that ſeem *green* or *rotten* in the *Church*: Nor will they fall off, till their mouths be ſtopped by *Preferment*, or their heads ſatisfied with *Reaſon*: Yet had ſhe but enough of the firſt, it might ſuffice to purchaſe a competent proportion of the latter; or at worſt, ſo much *Sophiſtry* as might ſerve her turn: But the ancient *Piety* being blended in *Luxury*, and her *Revenue* in a great proportion ſwallowed up by the *covetouſneſs* of *Princes*; the *Pope* and *Clergy* hold the Remainder by no better Tenure than by rendring themſelves neceſſary to the ambition of Monarchs, eſpecially that of *Spain*, *Republicks* being naturally not ſo auſpicious to the *Prieſthood*. Nevertheleſs, leſt the *Catholick King* ſhould attain to an abſolute power in *Chriſtendom*, under which his *Holineſs* would be totally eclipſed, his principal endeavor has been to foment a difference ſtill between him and *France*, and ſo by their banding to keep himſelf up in play; *Shifts* the *Church* was never put to, during the Golden Age of Ignorance, when *Learning* and all Books lay at her mercy; ſo as ſhe had power to cut them ſhorter, or extend their ſenſe as beſt fitted the occaſion: The *Laity* being ſo perplexed between the hope of *heaven* and fear of *hell*, that the dark

entry

entry of Death gave the Priests as opportune a way to become their Executors, as the bloody night of the *Passover* did the *Jews* to rob the *Egyptians*. But now in the absence of the ancient *Piety* and *Ignorance*, the Church of *Rome* hath no better way to keep Reason from breaking in upon her (who like a Wolf hath, this last Century, lain gnawing at the Popes honor and profit) than by sacrificing more men yearly to the fury of the *Inquisition*, than *Solomon* did Beasts at the dedication of the *Temple*: an Impiety not chargable upon the *Turk*, who kills none for the profession of any *Religion*, though never so contrary to his own; leaving God to avenge his truth, which no question he would not be long in doing, were he so angry with the opposite Tenets, as they in their furious Sermons are pleased to represent him.

71. The *Turk* finding *Printing* and *Learning* the chief fomentors of *divisions in Christendom*, hath hitherto kept them out of his Territories. Yet whilst we trie out our best time in tugging at the hard Text of a dry Book, or the study of strange *Languages* (which are but the bindings of Learning, & do often cover less Knowledge than may be had in our own Ideom) they come more adapted into *State-imployments*, and sooner furnished with clearer reason, drawn from the quicker Fountains of less-erring *Experience*; and were never yet found to be out-reached in prudence by the most politick & *learned* Princes in *Europe*. Nor can any think this strange, that considers what the custom of *universities* requires at the hands of Students, *viz.* knowledge in the *Arts* so called, and a nimble mouthing of canting terms, coined by themselves, and so current in the commerce of no larger Understandings than their own, and such as are sworn to the same Principles: the vanity of which is in nothing more apparent than in this, that they can easier start ten Errors, than kill one; as is manifest in the differences between us and *Rome*; concerning which, though in right reason we do, and cannot but agree in many things, yet the heat and rancour of the dispute is no whit abated.

72. All *Sciences* any ways resembling those we call *Liberal*, are taught no where but in the *Seraglio*, where the *Grand Signio* hath the power to increase or diminish the number

of their *Profeſſors*, according as it ſuits his occations. *Able men*, reſembling wanton Boys, that, rather than be unimployed, will do miſchief; None attaining to any perfection but what he hath *uſe* for: *Idle* Valour being the Tool, as Learning and Knowledge are the Operators of all Civil Diſſentions. A courſe quite contrary to the ill-husbandry of *Europe*, (or more particularly *England*) in whoſe Body *Mercury* and *Sulphur* exceed Imployment, which ſhould be the *Salt* to fix the reſt, and keep them from putrefaction: For want of which her *Schools* do man out as many Enemies as Friends, legible in the vaſt volums of Controverſies that lie vendible on every Stall. This reſults from the multitude of *Grammer-Schools* (in the building of which appears more Zeal than Knowledge) where all come that are but able to bring a *Bag* and a *Bottle*, no unfit Emblem of the future poverty of their Trade; In which, like a *Lottery*, ten take their chance in *Beggery*, for one that meets with a *Prize*; and that, when it comes, is ſcarce worth the labour, coſt, and time required in making them capable: No mens fortunes being confined in ſo narrow a Circle, nor built upon ſuch ſhaking Foundations as thoſe of *Scholars*: The fire already kindled in Church and State, by their claſhing in Opinions, having melted the Baſons and larger Plate, our Anceſtors ſet up for the encouragement of *Learning*; which, like a Viper, doth now endeavour to eat out the Bowels of her Mother. For the Parents of *School-boys* not being able to advance them higher, all the

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reſt is loſt but *Reading* and *Writing*, and they rendred by ſeven or eight years lazie living, uncapable of the labour belonging to the more profitable *Plough*, and ſo become *Serving-men*, and *Lawyers*, and *Juſtices Clerks*; by the vertue of which profeſſion they turn cunning Knaves, and cozen their Country: A charge circumciſed in *Turkey*, by mixing the expenſive Callings of *Law* and *Divinity* together, by which their *Prieſts* are ſo fully imployed, as no leiſure is given to ſtudy *Innovation* in either profeſſion, and conſequently dries up the Fountains of *Rebellion*. Which foreſeen by the prudent eye of the Divine Legiſlator, *Moſes*, directed him to the uniting of the *ſacred Rites*, and *civil Sanctions* into one *Body*, making the Law of the Land a piece of Gods Law, and the Juſtice of the Magiſtrate, Religion: which ſtamps no leſs Authority upon the Law, than it procures Reverence to the Judges, and promiſeth to the Government, where it is entertained, *Length of days* and Safety on the one hand, with *Riches* and *Honour* on the other. Which courſe affords alſo ſuch *Expedition* as gives one ſide, at leaſt, cauſe to applaud Juſtice; whereas here the bettered Party is left ſo little to boaſt of, that he returns home as ill ſatisfied, as he which had Sentence pronounced againſt him.

73. Neither are theſe *Delays* any whit remedied by the ill-husbandry of breeding ſo many to the *long Robe*, as are found in *England*: which exceſs ſprings from the multitude of

Pedants that reign among us; who, like Flies, blow one another in ſuch quantities, over the Nation, as they do not only ſupplant thoſe of their own Calling (which in it ſelf were miſchief enough) but infect all *Government*. Their *Scholars*, if they arrive to any maturity, at length turn *Academicks*, whoſe Cloiſtered and Monkiſh *Learning* is by Stateſmen looked upon as reſembling dead Honey, which is ſtale, coorſe, and leſs uſeful, none being pure and Virginal, but what is ſucked from every Flower that may be found in the wild Field of a general Commerce. For though out of the huge heap of *Univerſity-men* Providence hath ſnatched ſuch *choice Brands*, as are able to illuminate the World, yet let theſe towring Eagles ſpeak ſincerely (who like the Soul of Learning appear above that vaſt pile of *Fathers*, *School-men*, *Linguiſts*, *Criticks*, &c. heaped up by the Court of *Rome*, for a Funeral to all farther enquiry after Truth) and they muſt tell you, that the leaſt part of this excellency came from their *Mother*: The *Tongues* being at the beſt but the *Crackers of Knowledge*: the *Kernel* remaining uſeleſs, if not bitter and loathſom, till picked and dreſſed by *Employment* and *Experience*. Nor can this be admired by ſuch as conſider the practice of ordinary *Tutors*, who throw to their *Pupils* the dry Bones, and not the Marrow of Erudition: By which more time is often conſumed in the ſetting out, than a wiſe man perhaps would have thought well ſpent in the whole Journey.

74. This is not ſaid to bring any water towards

towards the cleanſing of their hands, who either have or do intend to imbrue them in the ſacrilegious *Spoils of Colledges*, to the utter diſcouragement of all future Charity; I wiſh them rather cut off: For though thouſands are found to bury their Talents in the Ocean of *Controverſies*, and an implicit adhering to the Writings of the *Ancients* (who might poſſibly err out of no leſs policie than the Church of *Rome* hath ſince maintained them) yet all Ages do afford ſome that ſcorn to be tied up to Patterns, but enrich the World with ſuch new *Inventions*, as may not only expiate for the Charge, but the Ignorance of all *Foundations*.

75. Thus I have ſhewn, that the *Turks* want of knowledg in our *Learning* or *Religion*, leaves him neither ſo Imprudent or Wicked, but that he is able to promote his own *Intereſt*, and willing to make his Subjects ſo far *happy*, as may ſuit with an *Abſolute Power*.

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——59. *Yet*

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A DISCOURSE UPON *Nicholas Machiavel*:

Or an Impartial Examination of the juſtneſs of the *Cenſure* commonly laid upon him.

Machiavel is *branded* by all, neither can any abſolve him quite from *Blame*: Yet, conſidering he was not only an *Italian* but a *Courtier*, few can do leſs than admire his bad fortune to ſee one man inherit, in particular the maſs of *Reproaches* due to all *Princes* and *Stateſmen* in general; ſo far as to ſtile, in way of Contempt, ſuch *Machiavellians*, who in a truer ſenſe might be termed Followers of *Charles* the fifth, *Lewis* the eleventh, or *Henry* the ſeventh. By this embracing the bare *Apparitions* of *Vertue* and *Vice*, without obſerving the true *Subſtance*, which they quite let paſs; marking for *Blemiſhes* in pre-

precedent times, what Hiſtorians note for *Prudence*, if not *Beauty* in ours: So as he that impartially examines the *lives* of thoſe formerly named (who are yet no Prodigies in the Nature of Government) may find more *Evil*, than can be deduced out of this mans *Scenes*, or (for ought we know) the worſt of his Thoughts: Yet they have *Wiſdom* inſcribed on their Tombs, by the Penners and Readers of their Stories, in which they lie quiet under the favour of ſome elegant *Apologie*, hitherto denied to *Machiavel* by ignorant and ungrateful Poſterity.

He was *Secretary* to the State of *Florence*, of which he hath left an incomparable *Hiſtory*, with other Books ſo full of Truth, Learning and Experience, that the hand of Detraction hath not been able to aſperſe them; only it endeavours to attach ſome ſtragling expreſſions in a ſmall Pamphlet, called His *Prince*, which are with far leſs Charity remembred, than ſo many larger and better pieces forgotten.

That he was imployed in honourable *Embaſſies*, is manifeſted from Story; And what umbragious and falſe Poſitions *Embaſſadors* Profeſſions oblige them to, the *Tranſactions* of all *States* abundantly declare: For, as the *Italian* ſaith, *The beſt of Women with their Petticoats deveſt their modeſty, to render themſelves more grateful to their Husbands Embraces*; So *Publick Miniſters* can hardly pay the endeavours they owe to their *Country*, without

exchanging

exchanging for worldly *Policy* a great part of that Candor which ſhould be current in the more ſacred Commerce of honeſt and religious men. Nor can any expect leſs hope of forgiveneſs in relation to ſuch as by theſe *oblique means* advance the preſervation of *Gods People*, than the *Midwifes* of *Egypt* may be ſuppoſed to have had, who purchaſed themſelves *Houſes* by ſuch uncertain Proteſtations; as, if extended on the Rack of a nice Scrutiny, could not chooſe but confeſs and appear to all, little better than *Lies*. Few humane actions can be ſeparated from the droſs of *Deceit*; only ſuch are of beſt eſteem, as carry the greateſt mixture of *Charity*; which makes me humbly conceive, this *Learned Man* deſerves leſs *Cenſure*: ſince ſuch Princes only as *Jeroboam* (whoſe Intereſt is always to damnifie others in order to their own preſervation) and not their *Inſtruments*, may juſtly be ſaid to cauſe *Iſrael* to ſin.

His was no new *Deſign*, but in all Ages projected by the moſt faithful *Hiſtorians*, who make it their buſineſs to perſonate and repreſent the behaviours of Princes, though never ſo undecent; and did ever purchaſe the more applauſe, according to the greater or leſs faculty they had to do it to the *life*. Neither can the ſtricteſt Religion condemn the *Speculation* of *Ill*, without betraying her Profeſſors, if not her ſelf: For with what vaſt diſadvantage ſhould a good *David* cope with a Son of *Belial*, were there not prudent

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dent *Hushai*'s to countermine the Infidies of wicked *Ahitophels*, and to learn men in power the Art to catch their wily Neighbours in their own Traps? Nor do we find his *Directions* shunned in a less publick Commerce than that of Princes; since it lies not out of the way of Instance to prove some sharp inveighers against *Machiavel* have attained to *Church Preferments*, under the favour of worse or the same *Principles*; *Alexander* the sixth ascended to the *Papacy*.

Do any lay *obscenity* to the charge of *Albertus*, or is he not rather stiled *the Great*, for having so plainly set open the Closet of Nature? If any sort of men have reason to tax this *Author*, they are only *Kings* and *Persons in power*: For as it is the Custom of *light women*, imperiously to blame all broad expressions of what they captivate their Servants affections by; so *Statesmen* may with more shew of Justice, complain of the publication of such *Axioms*, that being undiscovered, their use might be with more secresie and success.

Neither doth any greater *Reproach* redound to him from such as pervert them to the *prejudice* of others, than to a *Fencer*, if his Scholars make use of his skill in the destruction of their Friends: It being only his aim to teach them how to guard themselves, and resist others that shall, contrary to the Laws of God, Nature, and Probity, endeavour to assault them.

Ignorance and lack of Experience in the Customs

Customs of other Nations are the Parents of these spurious *Censures*; for had they been where he writ, these *Documents* would be no more admired, than the most monstrous of those Chinese's we observe in *England*, are, in comparison of some to be found at the feet of the *Alps*.

Neither will a small abatement appear in his *Charge*, if the *days* he lived in be seriously considered. His misfortune was, to be contemporary with *Pope Alexander* the sixth, and of intimate acquaintance with his Son *Cæsar Borgia*: And what these were, is sufficiently apparent to men versed in Story: a study such proclaim themselves ignorant of, that can so bitterly exclaim upon *Machiavel*: For were they conversant with the procedures of Superlative Powers, his *Rules* would seem rather impertinent, and below the *practice of Princes*, than to deserve such severe *Reproofs*; the sting of which lies in their own ignorance, not the more useful Knowledge, they condemn.

No *Age* abounded more with *Action*, or shewed the *instability* of worldly *Honours* plainer than that he writ in: Therefore from a man wholly conversant in *Court-Imployments* (where it is thought a Lunacy to look beyond the second Causes, or to act upon the credit of any higher Providence than their own) worse things in reason might be expected than his; which are really no other than the *History* of wise *Impieties*, long before legible, and since imprinted with new Additions in the

the hearts of every *ambitious Pretender*; yet He undergoes a *Cenſure* equal with thoſe that commit far greater wickedneſs, than his or any Pen elſe is able to expreſs.

Divers *Eſtates* in *Italy*, did in his time deſire, or actually *change* their *Lords*: A juncture opportune to teach nothing ſo naturally, nor require any thing more neceſſary than *Aphoriſms* of *Policy*. For *Naples* was torn out of the Houſe of *Anjou*, by *Ferdinand*, and the people oppreſt under Father and Son. *Lodowick* took the Dukedom of *Millan* from young *Galeas*, with the like treachery as *Francis Sforza*, Father to *Galeas*, had done from the Dukes of *Orleans*.

He ſaw the Deſcent of the *French* into *Italy* winked at by *Pope Alexander* the ſixth; in expectation of raiſing an Houſe for his Son *Ceſar*, out of the Gleanings of the *French Kings* Conqueſt; In which he *prayed without his Beads*, being ſo far *out*, in the account, as that after *Charles* had got a large ſhare in *Italy* (through the mediation of the *Jealouſie of Princes*, no leſs than the *Diſcontent* of the *People*, ariſing from the uneaſie poſture they lay in, ſo as all Changes were conſidered with delight) he entred *Rome*, forced *His Holineſs* into St. *Angelo*, from whence, after ſome time, he came out ſwearing to ſuch *Capitulations*, as the victorious King was pleaſed to proffer him: And though at his reception, the *French* King kiſſed his Foot, yet he durſt not truſt to his ſingle Infallibility, but took his Son *Ceſar* for

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an *Hostage*; and to hide it from the Envy of other *Catholick Princes*, he covered his detention with the title of an *Embassie*, still to reside neer him in token of Amity: But, not long after, *Cæsar* procuring an Escape, his Father, contrary to his Oath, contracted a *League* against the *French*; so much to the prejudice of that Kingdoms affairs, as it may not only excuse *Machiavel*, but all writers of *Politicks*, if they labour to abate the faith of Princes, in relation to the strictest *Stipulations* made with Neighbours, found seldom observed, but broken as oft as kept by absolute Powers, to the irreparable loss of the weaker Party: Whereas an Errour in private Persons may be expunged by an After-game, or helped by complaint, *&c.* Remedies too weak to cure the Wounds of Princes, who in such cases are saved only by their unbelief, and seldom perish, but through unadvised confidence, in giving too much credit to the Protestations of less religious performers of *Covenants*, which rise and fall; not according to the more constant Standard of Religion, but the various success of worldly occasions: And he that knows not how rare a Commodity *Probity* is, in the Market of Princes, is no fit Reader, much less a competent Judge of *Machiavel*.

Leagues, *Truces*, *Compacts*, and *Peace*, are become so crack'd and invalid, through a daily miscarriage in performance, as they serve for little better use, than to buy in smaller Territories, such as *Loraine* and the *lesser Cities* and *Principalities* in *Italy* and *Germany*,

that have little elſe to truſt to, but the promiſes of Protection they receive from more *Potent Monarchs*, which they know would devour them, but out of dread of each other: Therefore bound by the ſtrongeſt reaſon of State, to balance them upon the acceſs or deſertion of every fortune good or bad.

Which makes *Oaths* among Stateſmen, upon a true ſurvey, to ſignifie nothing, at beſt, more danger than profit: Binding only ſuch, as, in relation to Impotency or Honeſty, ſtand in leaſt need; And becoming, like Juglers Knots, no ways aſtrictive to the more Potent, who are ever able to elude them by ſlights, or break them by power. Now ſince *Italy*, for whoſe Meridian he calculated his *Adviſo's*, conſiſts, for the moſt part, of *weak* pieces, it ſhews him more excuſable, if not commendable, in fitting them ſo accurately to their practice and conveniency. And till all Kings agree (which is never to be expected) to keep their *Stipulations* and *Covenants*, you cannot think it reaſonable that a Subject to the Duke of *Florence* ſhould have adviſed his Patron to begin; ſo contrary to the examples of thoſe times, as it was known, the *Pope* did then contract an Amity with the *Grand Seignior*, which, in Charity, may be thought he meant not to obſerve, though for his ſake, he ſuffered himſelf to be hired to poyſon his *Brother* (fled into *Chriſtendom* for fear of taſting the fate of the reſt, after his Father's death) and might have been of great

great advantage to any, that had designed to abate the *Ottoman Empire*: Now after the breach of Faith, so contrary to the promise made to this poor *Infidel*, at his being put into his hands: and *his Holiness's* own interest, in case the *Turk* had invaded *Europe*; it cannot be more passion than discretion, to condemn *Machiavel* for his seasonable Advice in relation to the *Oaths* of Princes.

After all this, he saw *Charles* the *French King* lose *Italy*, with the like facility he had gained it, all the advantages he might have made being snatched from between his legs, by the Catholick King, And the *Pope* and his *Son*, by mistake, poysoned with the same Bottle of Wine, prepared by themselves for others; by which the Father was taken away presently, but the Son, fortified with Youth and Antidotes, had leasure to live and see, what he had gotten, torn out of his possession, and himself forced to fly to his Father-in-law, the King of *Navarre*, in whose service he was murder'd.

It were heartily to be wished, that unlawful practices were only vendible in *Italy*, and not the trafick of all the Courts in the known world: where the marks, the Text hath set upon *Jeroboam*, who (according to the Dialect of *England*, for I find it not so elsewhere) may be styled, *The* Machiavel *of the Jews*, cannot scare Princes out of

the ſame path: For what King hath failed to *ſet up altars at Bethel and Dan*, when their power is in danger, by the peoples going to *Jeruſalem*? when *Saul* was but a Subject, he ſought to the *Prophet* for his Fathers *Aſſes*, but after his aſſumption to the Throne, a *Witch* is conſulted, about the ſucceſs of a *Battel*. *Chriſt* ſaith, *Not many great, &c. are called*: Men's *out-ſides*, at Court, are *ſoft*, but their hearts (within) ſeared and hard.

Pride is the root of all Evil, which Princes do not only foſter in themſelves, but water by preferments in all others, they find able to promote the ends of it: whoſe effects cannot be comprized in a narrower circle, than the whole Maſs of Impieties; *Ambition* is able to commit: That prompted *Pliocas* to kill his Maſter the *Emperour*; *Ceſar* to ruine the moſt glorious *Republique* ever the Sun ſaw; It teacheth Children to pull undecently the Crowns from their Fathers Heads; it is this that fills Hell with Souls, Heaven with Complaints, and the Earth with Blood; It made *Charles* the fifth, to arm himſelf againſt him, he believed, if he believed any thing, to be the *Vicar* of our *Saviour*, and would have led him in triumph with *Francis* the *French* King, made his Priſoner the ſame year by a like fate of War: Neither did *Philip* the ſecond do leſs than mingle the blood of his then only Son *Charles*, with the great quantity he ſpilt upon the face of *Europe*; yet his thirſt unſatisfied, he ſet a new world abroach in *America*, which he let run, till it was as empty of people,

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as himself of Pity. Are not the Heads of Nations presented by *Historians*, like that of the *Baptist* in *Chargers* of blood? Nay what are *Chronicles* less than Registers of Murders and projects to bring them about, to the best advantage of ambitious Pretenders? Yet none are so severely blamed that write them.

I would not be so far mistaken, as to be thought to apologize for tyrannical Principles and practices, knowing they render both Doers and Sufferers miserable: my aim being only to prove, that if *Machiavel* stood legally indicted, he couldnot be condemned by those at the Helm in any State, who in all ages were his Peers, and could not therefore in equity take up a stone against him. Bad advice, without Execution, hurts only the Giver: Besides, I cannot believe, the generality of those that cry out upon him, in publique, ever saw or read his *Writings*; but take their Clamour upon trust, as they do against *Julian*, stiled the *Apostate*, how truly, I leave to such as are better able to judge, than thousands of men so impudent as to extend incomparable Wits upon the erring Rack of *Common Fame*, in imitation of their ignorant Ancestors, who looked upon *Mathematicians* as Conjurers; though Wisdom hath justified these her Children so far, as to inform the world, that no Learning is a greater enemy to Falshood than theirs.

Yet *Machiavel* is so modest as to ask, Who had not rather be *Titus* than *Nero*? But to him that will be a *Tyrant*, he propoſeth a way least

prejudicial to his temporal Eſtate: As if he ſhould ſay, Thou art already at defiance with Heaven, therefore to preſerve thee in an earthly power, no mean is left but to be perfectly wicked, a task not higher to be performed, no not by the worſt of *Uſurpers*; it being as far beyond example, that any Tyrant hath done all the miſchief requiſite to his own and Childrens ſafety, as that the beſt of Kings have, in any age, put in execution all the good. Now of the firſt he propoſeth *Ceſar Borgia*, for the moſt abſolute pattern, who uſed all Artifices to remove every impediment ſtanding between him and his deſires, but his own being ſick at the time of his Fathers death, which perplexed his affairs ſo, as he could not bring in a *Pope* of his own *Faction*; for want of which, his ſo well-built Deſigns (as he fondly ſuppoſed) fell to the ground, as moſt of theirs do, that proſecute Empires by oblique means; into whoſe lap Divine Juſtice not ſeldom throws Deſtruction, or ſome louder Diſcontents, that overvote the pleaſure, Ambition takes in the accompliſhment of her ends.

But ſince it is ſometime the will of God (for Reaſons beſt known to himſelf) to give a happy ſucceſs to bad means wiſely contrived, why ſhould this *Florentine* be ſo bitterly inveyed againſt, who cannot be denyed but to have had at leaſt as vertuous Principles, for a *Member* of the Roman Church, as *Alexander* the ſixth, that was *Head* of it? with whom all Impieties were as familiar as the air he breathed in, ſo far, that it could not be ſo well gueſſed,

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when he ſpake true or falſe, as by the abundance of *Oaths* he uſed when he meant to deceive. *Worldly Wiſdom* is recommended to us in the perſon of the *unjuſt Steward*; and, I pray, what doth *Machiavel* ſay more of *Ceſar Borgia*, but that he was a *perfect Tyrant*? And if he preſume ſo far on your (better ſuppoſed) Honeſty, as to propoſe him for an *Example*, yet it is ſtill of *Evil*, and what fitter pattern can there be for an *Uſurper*, than one of his own Coat.

Neither are the *Rules* he lays down, waved by the beſt of men, if wiſe; for who executes not *ingrateful actions*, *by Deputies*, *acceptable in Perſon*? And all theſe his *Documents* he gives only to a *Prince*; for had he aſſigned this practice to a *Son*, or any elſe circumſcribed in a narrower room than a *Kingdom*, he might be more juſtly condemned: But undertaking to make a *Grammer* for the right underſtanding the *Dialect* of *Government*, why is he blamed for ſetting down the moſt *General Rules*, and ſuch as all Stateſmen make uſe of, either to benefit themſelves or hurt others? That they make no conſcience of falſehood, is manifeſt by *Lewis* the eleventh, that learned Father in *King-craft* who pronounced him ignorant of the way to live, that knew not how neatly to deceive.

That *Breach of Faith* in *private Perſons*, is not only deſtructive to well-being but alſo damnable, he cannot deny: but *Princes* pretend larger Charters in relation to a more univerſal Commerce; which they extend to *Embaſſadors*, and Miniſters of State; as counting all things honourable that are ſafe: and if this be an

Evil it is the *Kings*, and no way curable, but by the King of Heaven.

To conclude, a *Body Politick* is like that of a *Man*, which when it is altogether, shews outwardly a beautiful and comely sight; but search into the Entrals from whence the true Nourishment proceeds, and little is to be found but Blood, Filth and Stench: The truth is, *Machiavel* is observed to have raked deeper in this, than his Predecessors, which makes him smell, as he doth, in the nostrils of the nice and ignorant; whereas those of more Prudence and Experience, know it is the most natural savour of the *Court*, especially where the Prince is of the *first Head*; of which, such as come in by Succession may abate much.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS
Upon the
King of *Sweden's* Diſcent
INTO
GERMANY.

WIthin an Age or two, ſometimes, more, ſometimes leſs, according as the World is enclined to Happineſs or Infelicity there hath ſtill riſen up ſome *Ambitious Pretender* or other, that hath laboured to build himſelf a *Name* by the effuſion of humane *Blood*; And theſe offering *fine ſubjects for Diſcourſe* and *Romances*, are by the Antients ſtiled *Heroe's*, by the Moderns *Conquerours* and men of *high ſpirits*. The firſt of theſe we hear of, is *Nimrod*, branded by God himſelf; To him *Alexander*, *Cæſar*, and innumerable others ſucceeded, who for the moſt part ſtand highly regiſtred in *Hiſtorical Calenders*, becauſe they afford good *Pens* an eaſie way to render themſelves *immortal* by a near expreſſion of their Butcheries; when indeed they both deſerve rather the *curſe* of Mankind, the one for doing, the other for recommending to Poſte-

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rity such *cruel examples*, without giving them the true name of *wolfish Ambition* which all merit, who infest others Territories out of no more pious reason than *Augmentation of Empire*. The principal Errand, however paliated (to purchase Partakers) with more plausible and gilded *Mottos* in their Flags, which they hold out to the People. And I believe, if God had continued the *King of Sweden* in *life* and *success*, he had gone as high in Blood, and as deep in Devastation, as his *Ancestors* and *Goths* did in *Italy*, where they ruined such *Monuments*; as Time could not have yet demolished, but that she received assistance from their barbarous hands. And now I have set him under his natural colours, I am bold to maintain, that he that looks to the end of his Prospective, shall see *his Actions reach beyond the Darings of all (in that kind) that ever went before him*, as may appear by these *Circumstances*.

1. He did not fall on men drowned in *sloth* and *Luxury*, but on a *Prince* whose *Prudence* was lately wakened with the *loss* of a *Crown* and his peoples *valour* new whetted by *regaining* it. Being so far from wanting all *necessaries for War*, that, besides new ones of his own, he was Master of all such *Magazines*, as were provided by the *Elector* and his party: So as it may with reason be believed, that if the *Swede's* little finger had been in the endeavour to lessen the *Austrian Family*, when the *Palsgrave* put in his hand, the King, long before his death, had possessed the *Emperial* Throne.

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No party (in any extant Relation I have seen) is heard *to call him in*: All the *Forces* he had, or could raise, appearing to the world as *inconsiderable*; till he had shewed them such a Miracle, as a puissant Army upon one Horse. After whom they ran to gather up the Spoil, who, till then, had their heels shackled with *Cæsar*'s Successes.

3. The *Duke* of *Saxony*, the most potent Prince of the *Protestant* party, had no stronger *Title* to his *Estate*, than what he derived from *Cæsars* power who had placed him there for the like fault, in his *Elder Branch* (which yet remain'd in being to claim his right) he must have fallen into, had he yielded succour or assistance to the *Swedish* Crown.

4. He had seen the *King* of *Denmark*, coming on the like errand, *baffled*; A Prince inferiour to him in little but *Valour* and *Temperance*; having the *Sound* at command, not to be over-matched with any advantages the *Swede* could properly have called his own.

5. The *jealous hatred*, this and all other Nations have to these *Northern people*, as desirous by nature to better their *Heaven*, with an incroachment upon *Neighbours*; that live under a more auspicious *Sun*.

6. The new *Protests of Fealty* made by the *Princes* and *Hans Towns* to the *Austrian* Family, procured by his late *Victories*, the terror of which had so cooled the zeal of the people, and evaporated the heat they formerly were in to regain their *Liberty*.

7. The assurance he had, that *James* of *England*,

land, who refused to hear his own *Honour* and the cries of his *Children*, would never listen to the voice of a *Stranger*, that had no better Cards to shew for his future Success, than *Valour* and good *Conduct*; in which the old man had as little Faith as Knowledge.

8. The *Hollanders*, his most considerable Friends, could not help him, but by way of *Diversion*; being far off both in respect of distance and quality of their Power; the *States* chief strength lying in *Ships*, no ways serviceable to the *Swede* in his *Inland expeditions*: And to counterpoise this, as if Fate had renounced all assistance but his own, the *Duke* of *Loraine* had cast himself blindfold into the Arms of the *Spaniard*; with whom was as madly joyned the *French Kings Brother*, both in Alliance and Person at that time very considerable, in regard of the known weakness of the *King of France his body*, and the *surmises* of his *Sterility*, thought to be supplyed by the *Cardinal's* industry.

9. He could not expect such cordial help from *France*, as a natural Prince of *Germany*; because upon success he was ready to assume the Title of *Emperour* to himself, the only bait likely to draw in the *most Christian King*. Neither could *that Nation* be assured, that, his ends attained in *Germany*, he might not be prompted by his good fortune to invade them, *Ambition* swallowing all opportunities of gaining, without the taste of any former obligations. And for the *French King's* being chosen by the Reformed Princes *Head of the Union*; He knew

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that King looked upon it, rather as a scorn put upon *James* of *England*, for his neglect, than as an honour done to himself; the *Germans* being wholly compelled to it by necessity, in that juncture of occasions.

10. For *Money*, accounted by all the only *Oyl*, able to make the Engines of War move, he could not have much, being numbred among the *poorest* Kings in *Europe*. And to make this defect the more impossible to be dispensed with, he knew the *Emperour* like a *Colossus*, had not only a leg of *Iron* in *Germany*, but one of *Gold* in *Spain*, to assist it upon the least offer of any motion to offend him.

11. The best he could expect at first (till Success had made him formidable) from the *Landgrave Van Hess*, *Witenberg* and the rest of the meaner Princes, was a modest *Neutrality*. Or if they were so made as to rush themselves into a sudden declaration for him, there was a large compensation made to the other side, by the unfeigned assistance of the *Duke* of *Bavaria*, who had his affection newly purchased by the rich donative of the *Palatinate*, together with the Principal *Lay-Electorate*, which could hold no longer good, than the *Emperour* was maintained in Superlative power.

12. It is true, that *Wallestin* and the Emperours *Veteran Militia* had parted from the last Action with some *discontents*: But this is so ordinary at the *Disbanding of Armies*, when there is no further use of them, that it could not infuse so deep an *ill Spirit* into the generality of the Souldiery, but that the sound of the next

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Advance money would ſoon caſt it out: And, one to command in chief was not hard to be found, where the late Combuſtions had created ſo large a choice.

Had he been *beaten*, or *ſneaked* out of the Action, as *Denmark* did, ſuch *Reaſons* might have been upbraided to him, as rathly neglected: But ſince he was able to *break* through them all, *they multiply the weight of ſtronger of his own*, which led him on againſt theſe; not to be found but in his own Head, and the confidence he had of his *Conduct* and *Valour*; doing many things wherein appeared a *Hand* more powerful than *Fortune's*; who was not able to make her ſelf *Miſtreſs* of his *Sword*, but by taking away his *Life*: And that done, *Victory* had been ſo much *his* that it could not be denyed to his *dead carcaſe*.

If the *ſtrength* of the Enemy adds to the Conqueſt: who could cope with a ſtronger, and upon more diſadvantages? ſo as who ever reads the *Adviſoes* of thoſe times, ſhall find that the *King of Sweden* made, not only *Rome*, but *Conſtantinople*, to tremble; the *Turk* ſtanding in ſuch admiration of his Valour, that he loſt his activity, and did not only forbear to make *in-rodes* into *Germany*, which leſs occaſions he uſed to do; But gave off all thoughts of offending others, as if he feared he ſhould have work enough to defend himſelf.

And had the *Swediſh* Sword made as deep impreſſions in his *Empire*, as is left in the *Germane*, they would have been looked upon as

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Miracles; And, instead of *Antichrist* (which by reason of his success, some *Catholiques* fondly call'd him) he would have been styled, *The Champion of the Gospel.*

All the advantage I can find the King had, out of himself, was the Emperour's Ignorance of that Common *Lesson*, so often repeated to the Prejudice of the wisest Princes; That *Slighted parties are followed with the greatest train of inconveniences; in relation to such as despise them.*

Now if men esteem of Souldiers, by the quantity of *Blood* and *Land* they have wasted, *King Philip* the second of *Spain*, will out-go them all, in his Conquest of *Peru*, and the rest of those weak people: But if Reason may be heard, the least part of *Germany* asketh more difficulty to reduce it, than both the *Indies* or all that *Alexander* and his like are able to boast of.

A DISCOURSE UPON PISO *and* VINDEX,

Who both conſpired the Death of

NERO,

Though with a contrary Succeſs.

PISO a *Noble*-man born, beloved of the People, drawn into the *Action* rather out of the perſwaſion of others, than his own affection, aſſociated with the *choiſeſt Wits* in the *Roman Empire*, followed by the *braveſt Spirits*, and armed with *pretences* that were prove againſt all the darts Reaſon or Religion could caſt at them; yet *miſcarried* in the midſt of theſe Advantages, falling ſoon after into the ſame Grave, he had moſt juſtly meaſured out for *Nero*.

The foundation of whoſe Ruine was laid by *Vindex*, that had no ſtronger materials to work his deſtruction, than what he hammered out of his own invention, and the advantage he took from the love of a broken *Legion*, no way con-

conſiderable in reſpect of the reſt of the Princes Forces, that ſtood at this time firm to him, having, had their affections newly warmed by divers *Largeſſes* and a daily *Impunity*; ſtronger engagements in ſuch corrupt times, than all the vertue and piety incident to fleſh.

It's true, *Vindex* never lived to ſee the effect of his brave attempt, as the moſt ſtately Fabricks are commonly leaſt enjoyed by thoſe that build them: Yet the Reaſons why his beginnings did ſucceed, rather than *Piſo's*, may be ſome of theſe.

1. Of which the *firſt* lies hid in the dark Book of *Fatality*, where all things are kept from periſhing till they are arrived at the utmoſt period *Providence* hath ſet them; which is for that time as conſtant in the *preſervation* of the Inſtruments of her wrath, as the Diſpenſers of her Clemency: But when the critical minute, appointed for their *deſtruction*, is come, they lie level with their feet; whoſe hands before were not able to reach them

2. The *manner* of *Piſo's* attempt, which was to *aſſaſſinate Nero:* An endeavour no leſs indecent for men of Honour, than unproper for a *Tyrant*; who as he is Enemy to all, ſo ought he to periſh by the hands of all; which, by a *Clandeſtine* diſpatch, had not only loſt the pleaſure, but the example of their Revenge. Neither was it in any degree of poſſibility likely to be concealed; and therefore the harder to ſucceed, having been communicated to ſo many, and of ſo different tempers, who out of hatred to others or love to

themſelves, could not chooſe but reveal it.

3. As the body of Man, be it never ſo ſound, is maintained in being by contention of humors, the blood flying to the heart upon any ſudden aſſault: But if a Bruiſe be made in a *remote* place, it falls not out ſo, but affords the virulent matter leiſure to gather. Thus are bad Princes with more eaſe and ſafety deſtroyed by a remote and open hoſtility, than a ſudden and private attempt: For, near, men ſee daily ſo many effects of their cruelty, that they are afraid, ſtudying more their own ſafety than the freedom of the Common-wealth.

Beſides the *familiarity* with *Tyranny* makes it ſo domeſtical, that thoſe within the *Verge of the Court* know not well how to live without it: Therefore they muſt be tender of his preſervation, to maintain their own power, having rendred themſelves either actively or paſſively as odious to the people as their Maſter.

4. As any thing that miniſters occaſion of diſcourſe, the farther it extends, the more ſound it makes; and he that gathereth *Snow*, hath a *Ball* proportionable to the *diſtance* he rolls it. So thoſe that cry out *a far off*, upon the abuſes of the *Court*, do not only draw attention from ſome about them, but tickle the ears, and ſtir up the Spirits of all ſuch as have felt, or do fear the weight of Oppreſſion. Nay, ſuch perſons themſelves as at a nearer diſtance, would, out of hope or fear, labour to quench it, will, a great way off, look upon a combuſtion, with delight: *Novelty* being of that nature (eſpecially following things ill) that it raiſeth more expectation of good, than it can deſtroy.

5. *Open*

5. *Open force* doth aſſure the *Malecontents*, that there is pretence made of no more than what is cordially intended; to which the ſoft whiſpers of a few confederates cannot enough perſwade: It being the ordinary practice of tyrannical Governours, by ſuch inſtruments to entrap others for whoſe lives and eſtates they long. But in this caſe, *Report*, that repreſents nothing in its due proportion, inſtead of the danger that *is*, muſters up all that *may be*: And in this the concerned Tyrant ſeconds her; who looking through the falſe Spectacles of guilt and fear, reads his fortune worſe, than poſſibly it is written, and above prevention; ſo far, as though *Hope* (the laſt friend in ſuch adverſities) cannot quite be ſhook off, ſhe fixeth upon lower objects than the continuance of his former power. This flattered *Nero*, that though they drave him out of *Rome*, yet for pity, or to ſatisfie his Patty, they might be drawn to leave him *Egypt* quiet: As fooliſh an opinion in him, as it had been madneſs in them, to think any power meet to be left in the hands of an exaſperated Prince; whoſe *Revenge* cannot be buried but in his grave, eſpecially if it reſpects his Subjects: For though himſelf might be of a nature to forgive it, thoſe about him cannot, but will be ready to incite him to take it upon all occaſions.

6. Where there are *many* that *conſpire*, the apprehenſion of any one will ſoon *detect* the reſt; whereas the like reſolution taken by a ſingle perſon, and not communicated, ſeldom fails; being ſecure from all fear, and haſtened by no accident but what opportunity preſents.

7. *Ill Council* is rather to be hearkened into, than, *none* at all; there being a paſſibility to mend it with better: whereas *dull ſuſpenſion* looſeth time, a thing irrecoverable; and doth not only aſſure the *Adverſaries*, but diſheartens *Friends*, giving them leiſure to liſten to the free offers of the contrary Partie.

It may me *obſerved* in the *fall* of *Nero*, that *the meaneſt Conſpiracy is not to be ſlighted*; For in a crazed Common-wealth, the leaſt jangling will bring the multitude about the ears of their Governour; who, having offended all, knows not whom to truſt, that hath any power with the people: And this perceived by his own, they deſert him, or by his deſtruction labour to purchaſe their particular ſafety: For what hope can another have in him, that diſtruſts himſelf?

He that hath loſt the *love of his people*, cannot be certain of his preſent ſafety or moderate ruine when it comes; for the moſt part ſudden in regard of his own knowledge, though preſaged and wiſhed by all the world beſides.

No prudence can maintain a *Tyrant* long in power: for though he may divert the people from making inſpection into his diſpoſition, by expoſing his Agents to their mercy; yet at laſt the ſucceſſion of the ſame *abuſes* will direct them to the true cauſe; which being once diſcovered to lye in his Nature, nothing he doth ſhall pleaſe, but be ſuſpected for more evil, than it can in probability produce: The worlds *Opinion* exerciſing no leſs authority

over

over Kings, than meaner men. Beſides, the *delivering up men in Authority to the rage of the People*, like letting of Blood, may ſtop the progreſs of a preſent Fever, but much weakens the power of the Prince, to reſiſt a future diſtemper.

After the diſorders of a Tyrant are laid before the eyes of the people, it turns thouſands his enemies in an inſtant, that out of Cuſtom or Conſcience prayed for him the day before. Who are more ſolicitous to advance his *deſtruction*, than careful to chooſe a *Succeſſour* that might be fit to govern. Their *Diſcretion* extending no farther than their *Nouriſhment*, which they only receive from *hand to mouth*. Therefore all the uſe that can be made of this popular Monſter is, during their firſt heat: For, their expectations deluded (being incapable of honour or reward) they are ready, with the Dog, to lick up the ſame *Nero* they had vomited out. And, that it is eaſier to expel a *Tyrant*, than to find a Prince in all points worthy to ſucceed, appeared by *Galba*: And by *Otho* we find, when the multitude are up in *Swarms*, they care not what *Buſh* they light on.

If *Seneca* had got the Emperial Diadem from under *Piſo*, it is uncertain, whether he had been able to have kept it: Vertue having ſhewed her ſelf as great an enemy to a *freſh Family* as Vice; to whom *Cruelty* is for the moſt part more neceſſary than *Clemency*, eſpecially towards the *Nobility*, who are obſerved to carry the moſt natural affection to the *old line*, that firſt wound them up to honour.

I would be loath to blame *Seneca* wrongfully, though the immense *Treasure* he left behind him doth, not only, by consequence, accuse him of too much *Covetousness*, as some Authors are bold to lay *Ambition* to his charge; which the worse became him, because unpossible to be satisfied but at the cost of his Maker. But admit this *Stoick* in outward Profession, though an *Epicure* in his Gardens, &c. to be as good as he desired to be thought, yet if he had not restored to the *Romans* their lost *liberty*, but sought to establish the *Government* in his own *house*, he had only imitated their Charity, that take a Slave out of one cruel Family to put him into another, that might in a small time prove as bad: or if he had governed moderately all his life, it had been like the good day in a Feaver, which is so short and uncertain, that it takes away all taste of Ease and Delight, &c.

A

DISCOURSE

Upon the

Greatneſs and *Corruption*

OF

The *Court* of *Rome*.

THere is nothing, *Idleneſs* and *Peace* makes not worſe, *Labour* and *Exerciſe* better: The *Tree* that ſtands in the *Weather*, roots beſt, and deepeſt; The running *Water*, and *Air* that is agitated, are moſt wholſome and ſweet. The Cauſe of this may be deduced from Gods eternal Decree, That nothing in Nature ſhould remain idle and without *motion*: This alſo extends to the *Children of Grace*, who go more nimbly about the works of their heavenly Calling, being driven by the ſtorms of *Perſecution*, than when they have nothing but the ſmooth voice of *Proſperity* to allure and perſwade them. The *Martyrs* profeſſed *Chriſt* more boldly, amidſt the flames of the hotteſt Perſecutions, than we dare do in the Sunſhine of the Goſpel.

God never made a larger promiſe of his continuing *Truth* in any place, than to the Nation of the *Jews*: Yet how often do we find it buried in the rubbiſh of Errors and Impiety? Their Kings and Prieſts either teaching, or at leaſt tolerating Idolatry: The Church being driven into ſo dark and narrow a corner, as the Prophet *Elias* could not diſcover a righteous man: Neither was *Jeruſalem* in better plight, which had the *Temple*, and in that the *Oracles* of God, in poſſeſſion. For if it did ſcape profanation during the worſer days of *Solomon*, his ſon *Reboboam* ſaw it plundered, and in moſt of his ſucceſſors reigns it lay neglected or miſimploied. So that if a ſtranger, led by the glorious title the *Jews* had, to be *the people of God*, ſhould have conformed himſelf to their worſhip, he had ſcarce mended his market, though he were before never ſo great an Idolater. Yet God never gave a larger *Charter* to any *Church*, part of it being contained in theſe words, *I have hallowed this Houſe which thou haſt built, to put my name there for ever*. This proves Gods *Promiſes* conditional, and that outward *Felicity* ſeldom accompanies inward *Integrity*; or if they have the luck to meet, they preſently part, mens hearts being ordinarily to narrow to entertain goodneſs and worldly pomp.

The *Churches* we read of in the *New Teſtament*, with whom the Holy Ghoſt was ſo familiar, as to direct particular *Letters* unto them, are not now to be found. Only *Rome* brags, ſhe remains the ſame in purity of *Doctrine*,

Etrine, though for *Manners* she is as corrupt as her elder Sister *Sodom*, so that if *Italy* be a Circle of Impiety, the *Court of Rome* is the Center. Yet these plead their Title with God himself, grounding it upon the tottering Foundation of wordly *felicity*: Forgetting that it is against the example of all times, that any Nation, much less a Church, should so long sail under the merry gale of earthly prosperity, and not long ere this discharge herself of that rich lading she was fraught withal, when she traded for Souls, under the Fathers of the Primitive times. There having been such a succession of imperious greatness in that *Chair*, as *Rome* is now more like the proud and triumphant Chappel of *Antichrist*, than the poor and militant Church of God. All the calamities that have of late fallen upon her, may be said to have dropt from her own Ambition, in seeking to enlarge her power at the cost and prejudice of others, and therefore more naturally to be styled Punishments than Persecutions.

You cast your eyes on no Story where the *villany* of *Popes* is not at large discovered; who can then believe that the pure Spirit of God should indow with infallibility of judgement Monsters so visibly corrupted? We find, the Holy Ghost did under the *Law* hate and forbid all impurity though in meer outward *Ceremony*; how then should he under the brighter light of the *Gospel*, suffer himself to be poured out of one unclean Vessel into another; beginning again with a *Conjurer* where he left with a *Sodomite*. Yet

Yet they ſay, *Rome* is *the true Church*, out of which there is no Salvation: Not remembring that the holy Scripture, Charity and Reaſon tell us, Gods *Church* is as *univerſal* as the Earth; and ſhall one day be gathered together under Chriſt the Head. Now in the mean time, that *harmony* of Opinions they pretend to, may be rather wiſhed, than hoped for. In *Pauls* time ſome made conſcience of eating things *ſacrificed to Idols*, others of *Circumciſion*; yet he condemns them not for ſchiſmatical. And it is but a weak evaſion to ſay, He bare with them in regard of the infancy of the Church: For in theſe days of knowledge ſhe is as infantine in ſome places, as ſhe was then: where he that taught had the ſtrength of *Miracles* to juſtifie his Doctrine, which theſe want, and are driven to this ſhift in lieu of them, to cozen the people with ſuch as are ſuppoſititious. Now if there be no ſalvation out of the *Church of Rome*, not to ſpeak of our ſelves; *&c.* what Charity is it to think all the Water caſt away, that is poured in Chriſts name, upon the faces of thoſe Chriſtians in *Greece*, *Ruſſia*, and remoter places, to which this Ages curioſity and covetouſneſs hath taught them the way? This makes me think there is no room for ſuch monopolizing Opinions: But I leave this to Divines, returning to the *Pope*.

After the *Piety* of the firſt *Biſhops* of *Rome* had purchaſed them *Reputation*, and that God had not only opened the hearts of *Potentates* to receive the *Goſpel*, but their hands to build and endow *Churches*: They being advanced firſt to the

the Dignity of *Arch-bishops*, thence to *Patriarchs*, and so at last to the *Papal* Supremacy (a name derived from *Pater Patriarcharum*, which for brevities sake was written *Pa Pa*.) exchanged their Piety for Promotion, It being the Custom of frail Humanity, to conclude goodness at the beginning of Felicity.

For taking the advantage of new kindled *Zeal*, wisely observed by them to be the hottest, the *Popes* were able to lead King and People whither they pleased, and in the interim had the opportunity to proportion what power or riches they thought fit for themselves.

Now as *Policy* is not able to keep long the right way to *Heaven*, so at last it led them into a world of Impieties, by encroaching, under pretence of Religion, upon higher Jurisdiction and Power than could naturally belong to Subjects: which wanting strength of their own to maintain, they sheltered them under the *Donation* of such *Princes*, as had no better titles to their *Crowns*, than was derived from an *Usurpation* over the weakness of those in former possession; glad of the *Popes* Protection, because they found the generality of men, either out of Religion or Ignorance, made their estimate of the truth or falshood of the Titles, and legality of the *Claims of Princes*, according as they were more or less current in the opinion of their *Clergie*, whose judgements depended wholly on the Bishop of *Rome*, who afforded his approbation to their illegitimate *Titles*, out of no weaker Reason of State, than they at first desired it: Laying up with

all

all diligence their *Petitions* and his *Grants*, to remain as Precedents for their poſteriey to be guided by: Therefore it is no wonder, why theſe *Tyrants* & *Uſurpers* ſhould ſtrengthen the power of the *Pope*, ſince the foundation of their own was laid upon the exorbitant exceſs of that of *Rome*: which is ſo improved, as the *Emperour* hath, for many ages, received his *Crown* from their Succeſſors, to whom his Predeceſſors had formerly given the *Miter*.

The cloud of *Ignorance*, that did then cover the face of the world, was a great help to keep their jugling undiſcovered: For that little *Learning* extant in thoſe times was wholly included in the *Monaſtical Clergie*, (the *Laity* being intent upon nothing but Wars and Pleaſure) ſo as they had opportunity to make all *Books* and *Records* ſpeak in their favour, which being *Manuſcripts*, and ſo but in few hands, it was no hard matter to corrupt them. Beſides being prohibited *Marriage*, they did neither reſpect nor acknowledge other Poſterity or Alliance, than thoſe to ſucceed in the ſame places, of whom they had ſo religious a care, as they thought none merited well of the Church, that did not leave them endowed with more *Power* and *Immunities* than they found them: Making it an Article of the faith they owed to the Profeſſion, *to ſuppreſs the Laity, and advance the Clergie*: And if this was the End, they eſteemed no Means ill, conducing to it.

Thus by Time, the Indulgency of good, & Neceſſity of wicked and illegitimate *Princes*, they

they freed their whole *Society* from the Jurisdiction of the temporal *Magistrate*, not suffering them to be liable to any *punishments*, but those eternal, & such as their own superiors shall think fit to lay upon them; seldom suitable to the fault, unless in case of *Schism* from their general Tenets: and in this their Jealousie, no less than prudence makes them very severe. Now having purchased *Ease*, *Honour*, and *Impunity*, such as were *Poor*, *Guilty*, or *Ambitious*, besides *Younger Brothers*, and those *in Debt*, entered their *Fellowship*, which freed them from present want, & fear of punishment for former Offences, how capital soever: And these being, for the most part, of the best natural abilities soon learned the skill, so to work on the consciences of Dying people, and those affrighted with their sins, that the *Church* was left Heir of the best part of *Christendom*. And taking encouragement from the blind Zeal then raigning, (which till *Printing* had opened a way to Knowledge, rendred all things possible unto them) they did not only make use of such profitable *Errors*, as their Fore-fathers left them, but brought in new ones of their own contriving, gilding them with the splendid titles of *things necessary* and of *religious use*; Amongst which were *Images*, brought in at first only to encourage others to imitate their constancy, whom they saw painted, with the manner of Death they had been put to by the Persecuters of those Times: Of the *Cross*, worn anciently only for a *Cognisance*, they have made a Tutelary *God*, looking no higher in their Extremities: The

blessed

bleſſed *Saints* were ſcandalized with the Worſhip given to them, and their *Reliques*: whom, in a full imitation of the Heathen, they made *Protectors* of their *Cattle*, and ſmaller *Pleaſures*, as *Hawking*, *Hunting*, &c. And becauſe the *Bible* did not, in their opinions, afford a ſtore ſufficient for all uſes, they have added a number more, as may be found in the *Legend*.

To the *Monks*, & all ſorts of *Friars*, the *Popes* have ſucceſſively given immenſe *Priviledges* & *Indulgences*, wiſely conſidering, they gain them victories, without the Sword, and are a ſtrong and faithful Militia, fed and paid by the reſpective *Princes* of Chriſtendom, who, though they know they depend on a Foraign Power, yet few dared to explode them: ſo ſharp and terrible was their fear of the *Knife*, and more deeply wounding dart of *Excommunication*. And becauſe, in caſe all *Kings* ſhould have joyned, it might have gone hard with *his Holineſs*, he kept them employed abroad at the *Holy War*, or at Enmity one with another, or at leaſt at Unity with himſelf, by maintaining their *uſurped Titles*, or diſpenſing with their *Inceſtuous* or *Adulterous Marriages*. But finding in theſe latter days, Knowledge hath expoſed him to a *Reformation*, and that Princes would no longer make the vindication of his *Temporalities*, or what, under the notion of *Spirituall*, he is pleaſed to call *Hit*, a matter of Religion: and not daring to alter any thing formerly admitted by his Predeceſſors, for fear of falling under this undeniable Concluſion, That *he which hath erred in one thing, may in more*: He moſt

moſt politickly call'd in the *Inquiſition*, which turneth no leſs to the profit of the Secular *Prince* (who hath all he diſlikes condemned by an Authority uncapable as well of Envy as Revenge) than the Preſervation of the *Eccleſiaſticks*, and *his Holineſſe*'s power from falling under ordinary Diſpute: which Policy he borrowed of his younger Brother *Mahumet*, whoſe errors remain to this day in Credit, becauſe it is death to queſtion the Truth of them.

No man can ſay the *Pope* imitates *Peter*, except in *denying his Maſter*; who following the example of *Chriſt*, did in humility waſh his Companion's *feet*, which this doth in jeſt, during the *holy week*, as they call it; but ſuffers his own to be, in earneſt, *kiſs'd* by *Kings* and *Emperours*. It is true, he ſtyles himſelf the *Servant of Servants*, but is content to be worſhipped under the title of *Lord of Lords*: Nay ſome of his Flatterers have given him the name of a *God*, yet with *Paul* and *Barnabas*, he doth not rend his Cloathes, ſaying, *He is a man ſubject to infirmities, as others are*; but rather ſeekes to ſeem worthy of this Title, by proclaiming to the world, *That he cannot err*, a power God hath wholly reſerved to himſelf; or if communicated (which I will not now diſpute) it is only to the *Church* in general, when, in his fear they ſhall meet to determine matters of Religion, Which is ſo contrary to the nature of his Greatneſs, that no ſound is ſo terrible to him, as that of a *General Council*, a thing this Age cannot hope to ſee free & intire, by reaſon of the contrary Intereſts of Princes, who, together with Religion, mingle

their

their covetous and ambitious Pretences: For if ſuch interruptions had not been, ſo undecent a proceeding ſhould never have taken place, as was in the *Council of Trent*; where the *Emperor* ſuffered the *Pope* to be *Party* and *Judge*, and the *Biſhops* bereft of all power, either to propoſe or determine. Nor were the *Plaintifs* admitted to more favour or liberty of Diſputation, than to remain quiet, and hear themſelves condemned: ſo as, in concluſion, though this *Synod* was deſired only to abate the power, and reform the abuſes of the *Court* of *Rome*, it was managed by them with ſo much Policy that it did rather much ſtrengthen and confirm the exorbitant power of that See.

The greateſt things in diſpute between *Papiſt* and *Proteſtant*, are matters concerning *Profit* or *Honour*; which may ſatisfy any, not delighted with blindneſs, that they were brought in by diligence of the *Prieſts*, taking advantage from the ignorance of preceding Ages.

From all which I may conclude, that ſuch amongſt them as are wiſe, converſant in hiſtory, and acquainted with the preſent practice of the Court of *Rome*, are fouly to be ſuſpected of *Atheiſm*: becauſe Conſcience can never be perſwaded againſt a convincing experience: which is alſo made good by the irreligious *Italians*, from whom comes this Proverb, *The nearer the Church the farther from God*: For ſuch abhor Religion, becauſe they ſee the *Pope* makes but a politick robe of it, taking the liberty himſelf to put it on or off, as becomes his occaſions.

A

A

DISCOURSE

Upon the

ELECTION

OF

Pope *LEO* the XI.

IN the *Negotiations of Cardinal Peron* may be found a perfect *Journal* of so much of the *Election* of *Leo the Eleventh*, as was possible to be known by one side; to which Discourse I shall refer all those that do believe the *Pope* can be the true *Successor of Peter*: It being incongruous both to Prudence and Religion, to imagine the *Holy Ghost* should mingle Interests with the ambitious ends of Princes, who shun no impious means, to make him succeed, that is thought the truest friend to their Occasions. I know it is not only in the power, but the practice of God, to raise his ends out of *ill* means; Yet it were presumption in men to shape out his work, though he be able to fit our endeavours to his own Honour.

But the *Court* of *Rome* seeks to make the

people believe, that, notwithstanding these Considerations, after the *Mass of the Holy Ghost* is said, he is as really present in the *Conclave*, as he was with the eleven Disciples, when they chose a Successor to *Judas*, who betrayed *Christ*. In which they acknowledge themselves either *Atheists*, or presumptuous *fighters against God*; For if the Choice be his, how dare they interpose their mediation, or hope the *French* or *Spanish Factions* can possibly prevail; one side ever interrupting because both cannot be pleased. They have of late been made, sometimes by the other which must conclude the Holy Spirit subservient to humane Endeavours, or no more friend to this Choice, than to that of the *Grand Seignior*.

Here you may see how they labour to hire or force the *Holy Ghost* to fix upon some such subject, as may be most auspicious to the prevalent Party, who is invoked out of Ceremony, leaving the rest to be hewed out by themselves. Before these Monarchs grew so potent, the troubles in the *Conclave* were rather more than less: For the *Cardinals* made Elections so tedious by their towling, that sometimes the *Romans*, sometimes other Princes, forced them to resolve. And to avoid such constraint, they did often pitch upon *Impotent men*, such as for *Age* or *Weakness* were not likely to hold out long (as this *Leo* who died in few weeks after his assumption) during whose time the Pretenders are at leisure to concoct their Designs better, which is ordinarily done by *Bribes*,

or

or in case they prevail not, by *Poyson*; nay the Devil is not left unsought to: So as *Baronius*, saith, *None, on this side the Alpes, labour more to look well, than some of them, to seem sickly and weak*; hoping by that means to obtain the *Chair* which is able, of a gouty *Cardinal*, to make a sound *Pope*.

In antient time the *Bishops* of *Rome* were chosen by the *Parish Priests* of that City, And how, since, *Cardinals* came in; is no more known, (though not antient) than the date of many Novelties, that have most shamefully been imposed upon the Church: Yet to this day, no *Ecclesiastical Cardinal* (for they have others) but retains among his titles, the name of one of the *Parish Churches* in *Rome*, though he be ordinarily called by his own name, or else some other *Bishoprick* or Dignity, he hath in *Commendam*. By the institutions of a former *Pope*, which for shame they dare not revoke, all his Actions that gets into the *Chair* by *Simony*, are null: Now what are all these sinister Endeavours, but so many several sorts of *Simony*? If *Simon Magus* had attempted by *Policy*, mediation of *Friends*, or *Flattery*, to have obtained the Gift of the *Holy Ghost*, should his fault have been less, or not rather greater; *Money* being the richest offer he could make, and most suitable to the *Apostles* wants, which he saw others, indued with the same Spirit, daily cast at their feet? And if this be granted, when had the Church a Head able to utter any thing but Falshoods, or Nullities; All *Popes* having, for many years,

entered at one of these Gates? In Civil Kingdoms; the *Crown* is to be obeyed without questioning how the Wearer came by it; but to tie the Ecclesiastical power to these conditions, were to bind the *Holy Ghost* to the *Popes Chair*.

The *Bishop* of *Rome* lays an absolute claim to an unerring Spirit; but is not able to demonstrate the time when he had it: If it were always, the Errors found inherent in the persons were uncapable of blame or retraction. Yet out of this Cloud of uncertainty, say they, the *Holy Ghost* dictates only to his *Church*, and such as deny it are *Hereticks*. If at any time he hath the Spirit of infallibility, it is, perhaps, at his first entrance into the Chair as *Saul* had a greater measure upon his new anointing, than in all his Raign besides; yet in the Election of this *Leo the* XI. (of the House of *Medici*, and before his Assumption known by the Title of *Cardinal of Florence*) appears no such matter, which would not have been omitted by the penner of the passages of their *Conclave*; being an eye-witness and a *Cardinal*, who doth pride himself much in his fortune, and the policy both he and the French Party had used in his advance. But it may be, *Paul the Fifth*, who succeeded this *Leo*, had it, when he made so great a present to the Devil, as at once to excommunicate the whole State of *Venice*, with all the territories belonging unto it? But this was afterwards condemned by himself as rash and inconsiderate; terms most unbefitting a thing done by God.

And

And wise men may here justly take occasion to conclude, that no *Pope* doth think, or ever thought, he had a power of not erring: For if such a Spirit were an usual companion of that *See*; *Paul the Fifth* would have expected the operation of it, and not have troubled a State to so little purpose, without the assistance at least of a Revelation.

He that desires to be informed of the *Illness* of Modern *Popes*, may be abundantly satisfied, if he consult Historians, who are not dumb in declaring the *faults* of the *Court of Rome*. The truth is, were it not for the *strict* (or if you will, call them *pious*) *Lives* of a few melancholick *Friars*, it is impossible so much wickedness should not be hooted out of the world.

Yet the *Court of Rome* hath as strong Supporters as Policy is able to bring, though her truest friends are *Ignorance*, the *Inquisition*, and *Interests* of Princes: The first lies in every particular man to reform, the second for the most part in the King of *Spain*, the third only in God.

Political Occasions

Of the

DEFECTION

From the

CHURCH OF *ROME.*

AS some *Diseases*, and other *Malits* (but accidental in the first result) become, after a small *Succession*, *hereditary* to a *Family*; So *Opinions*, if once inveterate, render their Professours Ears, like those of the *Adder*, deaf to the wiser and more probable *Charms* of Reason. I come just now from talking with a *Papist*, and find him (though a Scholar) so wrapped up in the old rags of *Tradition*, and inspired with so strong an *Implicit Faith*, that I think it had been one of the neareſt things to impossible, for the *Bishop of Rome* to have lost so many, had he not fallen into such *Errors* as these.

1. The seeking to maintain a greater *shew of Piety* in the *Church*, than was suitable to humane Frailty, and the comforts of Life: The

Friar-

Friars Habit being no leſs *naſty* than *unſeemly*, and therefore ſhunn'd by nicer Judgements and thoſe of parts, not ſo capable of temptation from any thing, as Pleaſure and Profit: Or if ſuch *Auſterity* was called for, in relation to external *Zeal*, (the parade of all Religions, and fit to be muſtered up often in the eyes of the people) yet the generality might have been left to more *decent Acoutrements*, by which they had become ſociable unto others, and not loathſome to themſelves.

2. Though ſuch Auſterity was exacted from the *Members*, the *Head*, and *Capital Clergie*, obſerved not the like: which alarum'd not only their Maligners, but thoſe of their own Coat, whoſe Deſert of Fortune had not raiſed them to the ſame Tranſcendency.

3. The admittance of *Printing*, unpoſſible but to prove diſadvantageous unto thoſe, whoſe ſtrongeſt evidence, for the maintenance of their Power, lay in the Ignorance and Patience of the World, which this could not but be thought probable both to inform and diſturb.

4. The ſuffering *Nations* to ſwell into ſuch *vaſt Bodies*, as *France*, *Spain*, &c. The moſt obtained under the *Churches* pretence, which in favour to one, and malice to others, did blaſt Princes titles by the thunders of *Excommunication*, and ſet the people at odds with their Natural Soveraigns. By which Exorbitances they taught the *Germans* and our *Henry the eight* to find out a Remedy by applying to this *proud fleſh* the powder of *Reforma-*

tion; the strength of which made the same Zeal, that swell'd the *Priests* to this height, as ready to tear away the ground from under them.

5. The mixing a desire of *temporal power* with what is purely *spiritual*, put such an allay upon their *Sanctity*, that it became less current, than otherwise it might have been, had they not used the *Sword*, which *Peter* only drew (and yet not without a check) in his *Master's* cause, to purchase *Principalities* for their Children and Nephews.

6. The falling into the common Error of weaker Princes, who, to *paliate some temporary miscief*, do oftentimes contract *an incurable inconvenience*, as was done in the case of *John Husse*, and *Hierom* of *Prague*: in relation to whose proceedings the Fathers in the *Council* of *Basil* enacted, That *No Faith was to be kept with Hereticks*. By which they have rendered themselves incompatible with any other Tenets than their own; To whom they do by this almost as much as confess, that upon the access of a power sufficient, none are to expect milder conditions, than to lay their *heads* upon the *Block*, or cast their *consciences* at the *Popes* feet.

7. The *irrepealable Authority* given to the Decrees of all approved *Synods*, opposeth the *Custom of Nature*, and course of all sublunary things, which are *apt to change*; no less than true *reason of State*, that abhors to be shackled by any severer restraint than she is able to cast off upon approach of a greater advan-

advantage: The dispensing with an *unsociable Tenet* being far less prejudicial, than the continuance of it against the grain of the generality.

8. The *Pope* should have removed at least so many of the *Hundred Grievances*, presented at the *Diets*, as he found all Estates concurred in the dislike of: The charge and trouble incident to the *Roman Religion* afflicting mens temporalities as much almost as their Falsehood could their Consciences: It being more Policy to part with things not absolutely necessary, willingly, than by constraint.

9. The open *partiality* shewed in the affairs of divided *Princes*: By which the one side is made perpetually his enemy, and the friendship of the other no longer permanent, than it receives benefit; being wise enough to see, that the same *Arts* and *Power* that are able to help now, may, upon the recoil of Interest, be as apt to hurt: All strength conjuring up jealousie in Kings, that is not absolutely at their own disposse.

10. The ordinary and slight Provocations the *Pope* took to draw the dagger of *Excommunication*: which acquainted *Princes* no less with the bluntness of his Weapons, than the keenness of his Malice. By which they were taught to abate, so much as possibly they could, the reach of his power, lest it should have increased to an universal prejudice; nothing being more notorious than the *Ambition* of the *Church*, not possibly to be moderated, but by an absolute restraint, and an open discovery of the Arts used to twist the Interests of *Christ* with

with those purely their own: a medly of Colours apparent to judicious eyes: with which *Religion* was so dapled, that it was embraced by the most, rather out of ostentation than love, or pure zeal, and so not likely to continue long.

11. Had he turned the edge of his *Ecclesiastical sword* against *Turks* and *Infidels*, which he hath, since *Gregory* the great, chose rather to sheath in the bosom of *Christians* (whose differences, especially if they intrenched upon his *Supremacy*, he fomented into flames) he might have inlarged the extent of his own jurisdiction by a supply of new *Proselytes*, who are ever fonder of their Nurses, than those whose sharper experience of the Covetousness, and Ambition of the *Church* hath weaned from being so highly pleased with the *Roman Gregory*. I confess it unsuitable to his Interest, to suffer all or the major part of *Christendom* to fall under the jurisdiction of one person; for then his power would be eclipsed, as the Moon, in Opposition; or quite lost, as the Stars upon the approach of the Sun: which arraigns him of Indiscretion, for suffering the *German Empire* to be *Hereditary*: easily to have been fore-seen; when once it fell upon so powerful a Prince as *Charles the* V, not likely to part with any thing he had once possessed, and now too strongly rooted in the *Austrian Family*, ever to be eradicated but at the cost of a total subversion either by the *Turk* or *Lutheran* Professors.

12. The several *Orders*, and distinct *Names* they

they gave the *Friers*, known to breed *Emulation* and *Division* among them; as is evident about the *Conception* of the *V. Mary*, &c. And the irreconcilable feud between the active *Society of Jesus*, and all the other dullet *Fraternities*.

13. *Ceremony* (though the *Body* of *Religion*, yet) is too weak to bear that Stress the *Priests* laid upon it; who should rather have built upon *faith*, to which nothing is impossible: Considering withal that though *external behaviour* may add warmth to *zeal*, yet a redundancy of it doth not seldom suffocate and extinguish it, by converting it into *Idolatry*, which is a palpable mistake in the worship of God, and cannot long, among knowing people, be held from clamouring for a *Reformation*; which the *Pope* should ever have prevented by a hasty doing it himself: For if once undertaken by the unconcerned Rabble, they will never leave, till the form of worship is bruised and beaten out of all comliness, so as nothing can satisfy but the molding it anew. Which the wit of no single Age, much less that contained in a few Heads, is able to make compleat: *Church Discipline*, well instituted, being the highest result of all Prudence, God hath intrusted men withal: whose materials too near scrutinized, seem to discover more Policy than Piety; by the contemplation of which mens Judgements being once dazeld, they are ever after propense to *Atheism*, and a prejudicial jealousie of their Teachers.

14. The *Pope* neglected the prudential carriage of

of a *Miller*, who being ſupplied with a larger ſtream than the conveniency of his Trade requires, ſuffers it to run waſte, rather then endanger the ſubverſion of the whole Engine, he hath liv'd ſo long happily by. Whereas the *Pope* permitted the *Eccleſiaſticks*, not only to appropriate to their particular profit, all that which ignorant zeal did voluntarily and plentifully ſhower down upon them; but connived at the Miſts and Thunders they raiſed in the Conſciences of Dying men: By which they became co-heirs almoſt in every Family: Forgetting that *A great Booty invites Theft*, at beſt Envy; it being unlikely, Princes ſhould long forbear ſqueezing ſuch Spunges, out of awfulneſs to Religion, as had no better authority for their dreining their Subjects, than they drew from a foraign power; owned by the moſt, rather out of Policy than Piety, eſpecially ſince it was ordinary, with *his Holineſs* himſelf to make great *Leavies* upon no other reaſon, than to augment his own, or raiſe new *Empires* for his Sons or Nephews.

15. The abundance of ſuch contingencies bred a neglect of their ſurer and more legitimate Patrimony, conſiſting in *Tithes* and unqueſtioned *Church-duties*; very ſufficient to have maintained a number large enough for the loading the patience and conveniency of the moſt prudent States, without the addition of ſuch vaſt *Revenues*, not poſſible to be apprehended but under the notion of things ſuperfluous in the *Church*, ſince *Chriſt* in perſon never owned ſuch Plenty, which made it

ſeem

ſeem more undecent in him that pretended to be his *Vicar*.

16. *Fallacies* diſcovered in *Miracles*; which call in queſtion as well thoſe antiently and truly done, as ſuch as are reported to be new. Thus the *pious Deceits* our Anceſtors uſed to bring men to ſalvation, are not only made Stales to catch Profit? but inſtrumental to Infidelity.

A Diſcourſe in VINDICATION OF *Martin Luther.*

HE may be ſuſpected of *Hypocriſie*, if not *Atheiſm*, that too ſuddenly leaps out of one Opinion into another; It being impoſſible for meer fleſh and blood, to pull up all at once a *Religion* rooted by Cuſtmo and Education in the Underſtanding, which muſt be convinced, before it can let in another with any cordiall welcome. I ſpeak not of the antient and extraordinary Callings of God, but thoſe experimented in our times, in which over much haſt doth often-times bewray Deceit; As appeared in the Biſhod of *Spaletto*, who in my days left *Italy* for fear of *Paul the fifth*, his enemy, and reconcil'd himſelf to the *Church of England*; but the old *Pope* being dead, and his *Kinſman* in the *Chair*, he reſumes his former Errors, and goes to *Rome*, in hope of Preferment, where contrary to promiſe, he

he dies miſerably. When Falſhood is fallen-out with for any other reſpect, than Love of Truth, it inclines to *Atheiſm*, and is ſo far from mending the Condition of the Convert, that it renders it worſe.

None ever ſhewed greater ſigns of Gods Spirit, than *Luther* did; who obſerved ſuch *Gradations*, as it may appear he found fault with nothing, he was not firſt led to by the dictates of Conſcience: Falling firſt upon the abuſe of *Indulgences*, too apparent an Impiety, to paſs by ſo acute a Judgement undiſcovered; From this he aſcended to higher Contemplations, which afforded him the opportunity to take notice of remoter and deeper Errors. His *Wit* and *Learning* having that vaſt advantage over the ſtupid Ignorance of theſe times, that he bare down all before him, without any other *Oppoſition*, than the contrary Faction was able to raiſe out of power; much weakened by the deſire all *Princes* had, to ſet limits to the *Pope's* daily *Uſurpations*. And as for the *Books*, then writ againſt him, they did rather ſharpen, than blunt the deſire of Change: For the *Friars* had ſo long enjoyed a free current of the Doctrine, without interruption, that they were more intent on the reaping of ſuch Fruit, as grew from the Errors ſown by their Predeceſſors, than upon Arguments to defend them. So as if Princes, that were weary of the Yoak of *Rome*, had wanted the guidance of *Luther*, it is not eaſie to ſay, whither they might have wandered. And though *Charles the fifth*, then *Emperour*, to keep his ſubjects

ſubjects in obedience, did ſeem to diſcountenance the *Schiſm* (as they call'd it) yet he was content to ſhut up the *Pope* in the Caſtle of S. *Angelo*. Which proves his ſmall affection, and the truth of this *Tenet*, that if ever *Chriſtendom* falls under one *Monarch*, or turns into *popular States*, the power of the *Pope* will be loſt, or confined to *Rome*; being at this day only kept up, like a Shittle-cock, by the bandying of Princes.

'Tis *objected* againſt *Luther*, that *he was too paſſionate*, uſing *irreverent ſpeeches* towards ſome in Authority? Yet ſo much of this fault, as *Zeal* leaves unexcuſed, may be imputed to his *Education*. All can be ſaid, is, He was but a *Man*, and ſubject to Common Infirmities. And becauſe his enemies do ſo often object this, it is ſtrongly to be preſumed, his worſt fault. I could have wiſh'd, he had not *married a Nun*: but I believe he did it to ſhew People, The Quarrel was irreconcilable, as *Abſalom* projected when he polluted his Fathers bed: And in this ſenſe, the benefit takes away much of the blame; which lay not in the *unlawfulneſs*, but the *inexpediency* of the fact. And to ſhew, God did not curſe his *Match* (Though he might participate of the fate of other *learned men*, who ſeldom find their *Abilities*, repreſented in their *Iſſue*; yet) he left *three* ſuch *Sons*, as did not give his enemies occaſion to upbraid his memory with them.

For the *Real Preſence*, maintained by him in the *Sacrament*, it doth not ſo much con-

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demn his *Judgement* in this, as it juſtifies his *Integrity* in all the reſt: He being as reſolute to vindicate what he thought true, againſt the perſwaſions of his Friends, as he was againſt the threats and promiſes of his Enemies: For if any by-reſpect could have warped him, it would have been a deſire to appeaſe the hot Diſpute, the retention of this error raiſed in his Own Party? wholly of his Judgement but in this particular, in which *Zwinglius*, and the *Helvetian Church* did oppoſe him. And if this be not enough to waſh him clean from the imputation of Self-ends and Covetouſneſs, the Proverb uſed in *Germany* may, That *Poor Luther made many rich.*

As he was *protected* from a number of *apparent miſchiefs*, ſo the ſame had freed him from many *hidden*, in reſpect of the eyes of the world; it being impoſſible, that he, who had gall'd ſo many *Grandees*, ſhould not have Revenge laid in wait for him, in every corner: Experience proving, that *Kings* themſelves can ſcarce whiſper againſt the *Court of Rome*, but the *Knife* is ready to give them a final Anſwer. His *Death* was with as little Moleſtation, as his *Life* was full: For being call'd to the Country of *Mansfield*, the place of his birth, to determine a Caſe in ontroverſy between two *Princes* of that *Family*, he *died* there in the ſixty third year of his Age.

Had the *Apoſtles*, nay our *Saviour* himſelf been alive, and maintained what *Luther* did, they had been perſecuted by the *Clergie*:

Therefore the *Crucifying of Chriſt* is no prodigy in Nature, but daily practis'd among men: For he that can find the heart to ſtigmatize and whip his Brother, for an *Error meerly in Judgement*, would never have ſpared *Peter* or *Paul*, coming with no more viſible Authority than they had. But this is not the way to ſuppreſs an *Hereſy*, ſince moſt are jealous of that opinion, which uſeth the *Sword* for her *Defence*; *Truth* having been long ſince determined to be *moſt ſtrong*: And where Oppreſſion is, there for the moſt part, ſhe is ſuppoſed to be. This ſhews as little Diſcretion as Charity in ſuch as *perſecute* thoſe, that may be in the Right; or, if not, ſhall by this means, be kept the longer in the Wrong. If a Horſe ſtarts, the more he is beaten, the the harder he is kept in the way; but let him ſtand, and have leiſure to conſider what he blanched at, and he will perceive it is a Block, and ſo go on. Yet it is neither cruelty nor imprudence, to reſtrain ſuch furious Spirits (as they do Dogs) that will bawl and fly at all they do not know: But I ſhould be utterly againſt *burning their Books in publick*, if they have once gained the light: which only adds to their price, and ſaves them a labour; becauſe, if the State did not put them in credit, by their notice, they would perhaps, after a while for ſhame, burn them themſelves. The *Whip* reforms not ſo much as he that endures it; but is taken as a triumph by the Faction, increaſing their animoſity, if not their number; So that in effect it proves a puniſh-

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ment to none but the honeſt and tender-hearted of the people, who cannot chooſe but be ſcandalized, to ſee the Image of God defaced, by *cutting Ears*, and *ſlitting Noſes*, &c. And this raiſeth a ſtrong ſuſpicion, that the Hand of Juſtice would not lie ſo heavy only on the preciſer ſide, but that ſomething inclines it that may at laſt turn to the ſubverſion of the moſt moderate part.

The *Dutch*, though they *tolerate all Religions* and Tenets, yet none increaſed to their prejudice, till they ſtrove to ſuppreſs the *Arminians*, who are in taſt as like the *Papiſts*, as Scallions are to Onions; all the difference is, that the latter is the ſtronger: Yet ſince they have let them alone, this Opinion is obſerved to be leſs numerouſly attended.

Had the *Pope* ſeaſonably reformed the Error *Luther* diſcovered ſo apparently, in the publication of *Indulgences*, and rewarded him a *Biſhoprick*, for his *Learning* and *Zeal*, let him afterwards have ſaid what he pleaſed: it would have been looked upon by the people as of no credit: who like nothing ſo well, as what goeth croſs to the grain of Authority.

The Lord *Treaſurer Cecil*, having been unſufferably abuſed by *Libels*, ſent for the *Poet*, and, after he had ratled him ſoundly began to take notice of the poor fellows good parts, ſaying, *It might be, vexatious poverty compelled him to make uſe of falſe, though common Rumours, given out by ſuch as hated all in Authority*; To eaſe which he gave him 20 pieces, promiſing to take the firſt opportunity to ad-

vance him. This favour (moſt contrary to his expectation, who would willingly have given one ear to have ſaved the other) did ſo work with him, and the reſt of the *Paſquillers* of the time, that, till the *Treaſurers* death, none uſed the like Invectives. *Bancroft*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, uſed the like demeanour towards ſome Gentlemen that had laid the imputation of *Sodomy* to his Charge, &c.

Clemency ſeldom cauſeth repentance in an eſtabliſhed Kingdom, or if it proves a fault, it is eaſily mended; Whereas *Cruelty* can never be recalled, raiſing a far greater Party out of a thirſt of *Revenge*, than ever yet could be muſtred up from the hope of *Impunity*.

Therefore to conclude, ſince *Luther* alone had the power to do ſo much, let us not be thus ſevere againſt others, that having their zeal kindled (though perhaps at the wrong end) run madding through the world; but rather pity them, if they be in an errour: Becauſe they ſomething reſemble the firſt Meſſengers of Truth.

FINIS.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRES ON THE REIGNS OF Q. *ELISABETH*, AND KING *IAMES*.

By *Francis Osborn* Esq;.

London, Printed in the Year, 1673.

THE EPISTLE.

My dear *Lucilius*,

Do here leave to your better *Education* another *Daughter* of my *Brain*, that may not unpossibly pass with the less *Scandal*, because *chaste* from any desire after *new* and *forbidden Discoveries*, or of disturbing that huge Trade *Antiquity* and *Custom* drive; the *first* amongst *Scholars*, who think it a sufficient excuse in the justification of a *stunted Knowledge*, to maintain an impossibility of transcending the *Abilities* of *former Ages*, yet cannot gainsay a visible *improvement* in their *own*; which haply would be greater, were *Learning* left *free* to every ones sense, and not confin'd to *Patterns* and *old Forms*, harder many times to be imitated or made use of, than *new ones* found, which being *our own*, would appear more natural and adapted to the present understandings, in many things

strangers to the Usances of *the Ancients*: whereas the *second* serves as *an universal Chain*, by which the generality are led to approve or dislike the *Words*, *Actions* and *Gestures* of others. Whose judgements, as I have long since not much valued, so have I a little wondred at *Age*, to find it so tetchy, when *Youngers* in years lay any claim to *Knowledge*: Since the goodness of the *Eye*, and advantage of *Place*, and not a long poring, discovers the *Prospect*; more of *London* being surveyable in a *minute* from *Pauls Steeple*, than can be seen in an *age* out of *Cheap-side*: There remaining nothing in this world *Prescription* hath a weaker title to than *Wisdom*, *the legitimate Daughter Experience brings forth to an able and active Understanding*. For though all things are found to own, in process of time, a publick *vicissitude*, yet for the most part it is *too slow* and *cunningly carried*, to be discerned at any distance (especially in relation to the present) which way it *turns*. The ignorant *Traveller* may see by the *Dial*, the *Time* is in a *declension*; but, without entring the *Church* or *Court*, shall be never the *wiser* as to the knowledge of the true and proper *Causer* of the *Motion*. For *my self*, I confess I am more highly bound to *Letters*, than any

acquired

acquired advantage or *natural endowment* ſelf-partiality or others indulgence hath hitherto been able to eſtate me in. Now if ſome, owners of ſuch *parts* as I am conſcious of the want of, did proſecute the like *Study*, having a *purſe* and *will* to purchaſe a ſight of the *Intelligence*, *Negotiations*, *Conferences* and *Tranſactions* of all thoſe that have reſided in *Embaſſy* with *our Princes*, they might no queſtion be able to compoſe a more exact *Chronicle* than *this Nation* ever ſaw of her own: and for *Elegancy*, it would, like *honey*, drop out of the ſame *leaves* he gathered his Information from; *Epiſtles* being the *quinteſſence* of the *Writers judgement*, as they are undoubtedly the *Elixir* of his *Rhetorick*. And he that deſires a more exemplary manifeſtation of this infallible (though for ought I ever obſerved, ſeldom practiſed) *Truth*, may find it in that *learned Italian's Hiſtory of the Council of Trent*; a Piece that challenges all the *veneration* our partial *Modern Readers* do or can offer at the *Shrines* of *Antiquity*; a folly ſure not ſo converſant in the world before *Printing*, otherwiſe the moſt part of *New Books* from time to time had ſtill been buried in their Swadling-clouts for want of *Tranſcription*, which few or none would

now

now foul their fingers ends about, as not eſteeming it worth the labour, out of ſloth or contempt: So far, as the *Stationers* meer *zeal to Gain*, rather than any propenſity to the *advancement of Learning*, did for a while keep *Bacon*, *Rawleigh*, and divers incomparable Spirits more, from periſhing at the bottom of Oblivion; Good *Books* (anciently written in the *Bark of Trees*, and now) running, in their progreſs, ſo exactly the fate of *Acorns*, that if their chance be to withſtand the *Swiniſh Contamination* of their own *Age*, and *trampling* into the *dirt of Contempt*, they do not ſeldom afterwards become the *Gods* of the Nations, and have *Temples* dedicated to their *Worſhip*; As their *Authors* in this participate with other *good men*, who attain not to a ſtate of *Glory* till *after this Life*.

To

TO THE

READER.

Though the ſtudy *of* Hiſtory *be an ancient* Preſcript *for the avoiding of* Ignorance, *and production of* Knowledge, *and to this day far more in uſe than any other* Politick Aphoriſms: *Yet with reverence to this confeſſed excellent* Doſe *of others approved* Experiments, *I doubt not but* Princes *and* men in power *might find a readier, if not a more infallible way to* Prudence, *by being converſant in all ſorts of* Letters *relating to* Embaſſadours, *and ſuch* Spies *and* Miniſters (*of* Commonwealths *eſpecially*) *as are employed abroad*

or

or at home in the Tranſactions of Treaties, *where all things appear* bare-fac'd *and* at firſt hand; *not* ſmutted *with* Intereſt, *or* adulterated *by the red and white paint of* Envy, Fear *or* Flattery. *Nor is the frequent opportunity of* diſcourſing with Contemporaries (*who having enjoyed a nearer* Light, *cannot but have ſeen more than thoſe by* Time *and* Birth *placed at a* remoter *diſtance*) *any diſpicable* Ingredient *in the* Compoſition *of an exact* Stateſman; *of which I find few that deſerve* (*in my judgement*) *the title, commonly forfeited to an* over-remiſſneſs *or* exceſs *in* Sanctity *or* Profaneneſs; *or, if you will, to* Hypocriſie or Scandal, *which at long running will meet both with the ſame* Inconveniences. *To be ſure*, my ſelf *have as little* propenſity *as* ſufficiency *in* this Art; *being no leſs obſtructed through* mulcts *received from* Fortune *than* Nature; *the later of which is as uncapable of amendment, as the firſt is unlikely to find it: (For after the* death *of a* good Father, *being driven into a corner of the world by* Injuriries *received from the* neareſt of Kindred and remoteſt of Friends, *I was not only invited by* Leiſure, *but compell'd through* Neceſſity *to ſeek theſe* Diverſions: *In*

which

which if I be mistaken, the Pardon *cannot be long in suing out, since I hope they shall not meet with a* severer Judge *than my self, for whose* Recreation *alone they were intended.) Though the small insight I have had into* Affairs *did not seldom gratifie my spleen with as much* delight, *as it may have not unpossibly affected less sanguine Complexions with* fury *or* disdain, *to see the* Valet *brought into* play, *where discretion called for an higher and more* exact Courtier: *or to hear the* People *wrangle and cast about their* mony, *through a phanatick desire to* discard *a present* Government; *not foreseeing, their hopes may possibly be deluded in the same, if not a worse* Stock *than they* make out *and* lay by; *often bartering* a pack of Fools *for a like quantity of* Knaves *and* Mad-men: *The giddy multitude being far likelier to be* out *in their account, than this advised Adage,* Seldom comes a better; *especially if no wiser heads be found in the Election than their own.*

Nature hath employed three Senses *chiefly to wait on the* Body, *and but* two *on the* Mind; *yet under this advantage, that these last are distinctly* double: *For which of them we stand most obliged to*

Nature,

Nature, is not yet paſs'd deciſion; ſince, though in regard of Pleaſure, Sight *may have the* Royalty, *yet in reſpect of* Wiſdom, *the* Prerogative *muſt not be denied to* Hearing: *It being* the far greater Wonder to find a prudent man Deaf, than Blind; *ſo as ſome are recorded to have* put out their Eyes, *as enemies to* Contemplation. *It is ordinarily affirmed*, I have ſeen this or that, *when the moſt of it hath arrived at us from* Report. *And in this ſenſe I may be ſaid to have ſeen* theſe, *and a number more, which out of reſpect to* others Fame, *or* mine own Safety, *I wilfully omit. But leſt this* Confeſſion *might ſeem to caſt a vail of prejudice over the face of that* Truth *I here expoſe to the curious* eyes *of* this Age, *as* nakedly *as* Modeſty *will give a toleration for, I ſhall ſay in behalf of* Tradition, *That all* Books *are* her Tenements, *and contain little of* Hiſtory, *whatever they may do of* Invention, *but what they* hold *from the* manner *of ſome* Report *or other. Nor hath the* beginning, *to be ſure, if poſſibly the* end and period *of any* Nation *God in his love did eſtabliſh, or fury deſtroy, a more faithful* Regiſter *than* Traditional Reports; *not commonly loading its memory with the exact*

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calculation of Time, *which rightly weighed, is but the* pedantick part of Hiſtory, *and ſo not unlikely the cauſe we find ſuch* differences *ariſing amongſt our* Chronologers; *the main* fons *or bottom of her account being no farther correſponſible, than for a juſt and even balancing her layings out with what ſhe hath received. To conclude with an* Anſwer *to thoſe that may require ſome* account of the preſent Undertaking; *I think it far on this ſide ſuch Impudence as Ignorance is found to plaiſter her* Libels *with againſt incomparable Queen* Elizabeth, *to own a ſtrength able, by* rubbing off ſuch dirt (*eſpecially where* Deſert *lies ſo* thick *upon her Tomb*) to gild her Name, *though the* manner of doing it *may ſtain mine own; ſince the* few ſpots *diſcernable in* her Government *are hidden, like thoſe this Ages curioſity hath detected in the* Sun, *from any farther notice, by the* ſplendor *of the reſt.*

THE

THE

PRINCIPAL HEADS

Of the following

MEMOIRES

On the Reign of

Q. *ELIZABETH.*

1. QUeen Elizabeth *her* moderate carriage *at first, till exasperated by the* Popes rashness: *Why the* Infancy *of her Reign continued* quiet, *notwithstanding so great a shake and turn in* Religion. ——

2. ——*To which she was in a manner* necessitated.

3. *How the Parliament confirmed* It *and* Her.

4. *She breaks with* Spain, *assists the* Dutch, *makes* Leagues *abroad, suppresses* Conspiracies *at home;* Papists *prosecuted; The* Popes *too late* Concession ——— *being* refused ——— *is seconded with an* Interdict, ——— *which proves* fatal *to the* Papists, *and* ——— *Queen of Scots,* ——— *Her* death *and the Duke of* Norfolks, *&c.* ——— Censured.

5. Q. Elizabeth *galls the* Spaniard: Cales voyage *under* Essex ——— *gets him* Love *and* Envie.

(6. *The* Queen *foments* Factions *at home, and what* use *she makes of them, and of* ——— her own Inconstancy. *The* Spanish Armado *in* 88.)

7. *The* Queens favour *to* Essex, ——— *how often by him* hazarded: *His* quarrel *with* Blunt ——— *designed for his* Rival.

8. *His* Enemies *restless endeavours to* ruine *him* ——— *by setting him on* high; *his ample* Irish Commission.

A Character *of the* Q. Court, Majesty, Thrift: Provisions *rated,* Exactions *of* Purveyors *punished.* ———

9. ——— *A witty* Example *thereof in* Kent.

10. *Her* Houshould Servants *the goodliest of Person, &c. that could be got:* ——— as

11. ——— *Her* Council *the choicest for* Prudence: ——— *apparent in her* Marriage-Treaties *with* Spain *and* France.

12. *Her* Councils Integrity. Offices *the reward of* Merit. *Her exact* Intelligence. *Bi-*

shop

ſhop Bancrofts *Art in dividing the* Jeſuites *and* Regulars ——— *afforded him* Popiſh Intelligence: *His* Character: *His endeavours for* Uniformity of Worſhip ——— *hindred by the influence of the two claſhing* Factions at Court *upon the other* Biſhops, *&c.*

13. Letters of State *writ in a* plain Stile, ——— *involving ſometimes an* obſcure ſenſe, *as thoſe about her* Marriages *with* France.

14. Court Hoſpitality.

15. *Her prudence in receiving* Treats *from her more* ambitious Subjects; *how ſhe diverted their humour of* Popularity.

16. *She oppoſes the Declaration of a* Succeſſor, *and why: Denies the* Parliaments *Petition for her* Marriage.

17. *Contrary* Reports *about her* Concupiſcence. *Her* Art *of* Government *and* choice *of* Miniſters: *Why ſome of* leſs Abilities *were taken in afterwards: Earl of* Notingham Admiral; *his* Character. *The* Queen *ſparing in giving* Honours, *or ſuffering her Subjects to accept them from* Foreign Princes; *Examples thereof in Sir* Francis Vere, *Sir* Walter Rawley, *Sir* Matthew Arundel, *Sir* Philip Sidney.

18. *Her modeſty in point of* Augmentation of Empire; *refuſing the* Dutch *as* Subjects, *though ſhe took their* Cautionary Towns; *and* Havre de Grace ——— *to regain* Calis. *The* Spaniard *by cutting off the* Heads *of the* Dutch Nobility, *makes way for the ſpringing up of their* Hydra *of* Popular Government.

19. Leicesters *hopes of* marrying *the* Queen; *his freedom of discourse with her about* It, *and otherwise. His* Character.

20. *In* Foreign Injuries *she never precipitated* Revenge.

21. Parliaments frequent, *and consequently* moderate: *She restrains their Debates about* Succession *and* Religion: *Keeps the* Church *humble, and carries fair with her* Parliament. *The* Schismaticks *leave* England; *how it might have been (safely) prevented; what hindered it; the fatal inconveniences of those proceedings.*

22. Ireland *neglected, and why: The Lord* Mountjoy *ends the War: The baseness of the* Natives, ——*how much* Priest-ridden.

23. Essex *unfortunate* Expedition *thither*; ——Cecils *artifice to fetch him back, to*—— *his* Death; —From *which, neither the* Love *of the* People, *nor of the Q. his Mistress, could bail him, and*——After *which she never joyed*; —— *The occasion of her* Death ——*reported to proceed from the* Countess of Notinghams *not delivering the Q. a* Ring, *sent her by* Essex, *(to whom she had formerly given it as a* Pledge *of* her Affection *and* his Safety) *which the* Countess *on her Death-bed discovering to the Queen, was by her sent with curses in stead of forgiveness, into another World.*

24. *After* Essex *death,* Cecil *being left without controle, not only urges the Queen to declare* James *her* Successor, *but uses other endeavours to effect the same.*

25. *The*

of the following Memoires.

25. *The* happy condition *Queen* Elizabeth *left* England *in.* No *conſiderable* Enemy. *How we ſtood related to* other Nations——— Spain, Ireland, France, Netherlands, *&c.*

26. *How* at home, *as to* Parliaments, Credit, Treaſure, Debts, Juſtice, *The* Church.

27. *The Concluſion.*

SOME
Traditional Memorials
ON THE
REIGN
OF
Q. *ELIZABETH.*

1. FTer the death of *Mary*, eldeſt daughter of *Henry the Eighth*, had delivered this Nation (for that time) from an imminent danger of becoming Tributary to the *Spaniſh King* (who owns none for a natural Subject, indued with leſs Pride and Auſterity than may ſerve to face a Tyranny equal to the *Grand Seignirs*) and left

the Crown to her Sister *Elizabeth*, not only swept and washed from all Competition or Claims by the bloud of *Queen Jean*, but garnished with the applause and consent of the People; no less amazed at the huge fires she had daily kindled to devour the enemies of the *Court* of *Rome*, than jealous of the partiality shewn to the *Priests*, whose exactions were become no less odious in things temporal, than their Latine *Mumsimus* had made them appear in what related to the Worship of God; *Edward* the sixths Reign being too short to give them a satiety, or make all the inconveniences appear, likely to follow so total a defection from a *Church* reverenced by all Christian Princes besides; It might be no weak motive to the new *Queen*, so fairly to demean her self at first, that though she entertained the *Protestants* in hope, no perswasions could tempt her to cast the *Papists* into despair, till the *Pope* (better seen in the Dignity belonging to his greatness, than the Arts his Predecessors had used in their conduct to it) did, by denying her *Embassadors* a favourable *Reception*, reduce her to a present necessity of renouncing the *Roman Mitre*, or her pretence to that Crown she had without any considerable opposition so happily possest: There being no way so probable to continue her in power, after the *Popes* so publick manifestation of a blemish in her Birth, as by adhering to a Party which during the Reign of her Sister, did justifie in the flames of a late persecution, That the Authority of his Holiness was spurious it self, and

the

the owners of it no better than *Anti-Chriſts*, which attempt of hers might poſſibly have worſe ſucceeded, but for the protection *Philip* the Second afforded during the infancy of her Power, flattered to it in hope of *Marriage*, no leſs than compelled out of a fear to ſee *England* poſſeſſed by the *Scots*, a People ever in conjunction with *France*, and therefore likely to prove malignant to his affairs. And as theſe conſiderations had made him ſolicitous of her ſafety during his Match with her Siſter, they continued ſtill ſo prevalent as he did not only forbear himſelf, but reſtrained others from making uſe of that advantage, ſo total a defection could not but afford. Nor was the aſpect of a *Council* then ſitting in *Trent*, (to which ſhe omitted not to ſend her Miniſters) of ſmall conſequence to her deſign; Becauſe not only this Nation, but all *Europe* were in the ſtrongeſt of their labour to produce a *Reformation*; Though far ſhort of the pretences of *Luther*, to whoſe memory the *Queen* had an unappeaſable feud, ever ſince he upbraided her Father with the *Repudiation* of *Charles* the fifths Siſter: whoſe birth by this became ſo unhappy as to be not only diſapproved by the *Catholicks*, but the Founder of that Profeſſion ſhe meant to eſtabliſh. Nor were the *Religious Houſes* and *Lands* poſſeſſed promiſcuouſly by thoſe of both tenets, a weak ſhelter to this new Princeſs, looked upon by all as the likeliſt and moſt obliged perſon to keep them from reverting to their ancient uſe; And therefore in hope to be vigorouſly aſſerted by the

the *Proteſtants*, and at worſt but weakly oppoſed by ſuch as had not yet quite relinquiſhed the *Roman* yoak.

2. And that the Penners of this Story, may be as free from the imputation of Malice as Ignorance, though they acknowledge her rather thrown, than of her ſelf fallen from the obedience of *Rome*, is deducible from the *Ceremonies* uſed at her *Inauguration*, all purely *Catholick*, and the retention of the *Ring*, *Croſs*, and *Surplice*, contrary to the grain of her ſtrongeſt Aſſertors: From whence her aim may be gheſt as not pointing at a greater diſſent from the Doctrine of *Rome* than her Fathers proceedings had chalked her out; Commanding the *Common-Prayer-Book* (which contains moſt of the *Maſs* in Engliſh) to be publickly read; And its Oppoſers, the *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Family of Love*, with a number of other crawling Errors, the unnatural heat of *Luthers* Diſputes had produced like Inſects over all *Germany*, to be reſtrained under no ſlighter penalty than Death or Impriſonment. Nor was ſhe tempted to this out of a vainer hope than to draw her neighbor Princes to the ſame reſolution, already in deſpair of procuring good from any milder endeavours than thoſe of Power. (The *Roman Courtiers* participating ſo much of the nature of the Mules they ride on, as they will rather indure through a ſullen obſtinacy, the laſt extremity, than remove never ſo little out of their track of Honour and Profit; no leſs manifeſt through all Ages, than in their carriage towards this Princeſs and their later pro-

proceedings with the Republique of *Venice*.) From whence more connivance than love, fell to the ſhare of the *Puritans*, that abhorred the lenity of the Queen, in not countenancing ſuch as bent their force againſt the *Church* of *Rome*, (betwixt which and the *Court* there may be a wider difference than our groſſer Diſputes will ſuffer us to diſcern) from whoſe practice, though ſome deſired a *Reformation*, a far greater part thought it damnable to reject it quite: few yet acknowledging any *deſcent* or *ordination* but what was derived from the *Catholick Church*, a term of too great a Latitude to be concealed for a day, much leſs for whole Ages as many endeavour to prove. But leaving theſe diſputes to Dr. *Jnel* and the reſt of her Divines (at that time better able to play the Scholars prize, than any amongſt the Fryers, were found in their Anſwers) Her Juncto, in which ſhe had a choice number conſiſting of both Factions, did think it prudence not to ſtray farther than the inexorable neceſſity of the time compelled, From that union of Doctrine which had a *Council* to vouch, That *no faith was to be held with any but themſelves*, which muſt have rendred all her Leagues void or uſeleſs to the very Oaths ſhe took of her Subjects: yet notwithſtanding theſe Shackles ſhe ſpun out a long and as happy a Reign as ever this Nation did enjoy.

3. The precedent Reaſons joyning Forces with the deplorable condition ſhe lived in during the Government of her Siſter, and meeting with ſo fortunate a Cataſtrophe, cauſed a no

leſs

leſs conſternation in the hearts of the *Papiſts* (already much broken and unſetled in their paſſage through ſo many ſuddain and unexpected changes) than it produced joy in thoſe of the *Reformation*, who apprehending her *ſucceſs* as iſſuing out of the immediate care God had of their affairs, became ſo far encouraged and ſedulous, that whilſt the other Party ſtood amazed in an expectation which way this new Princeſs would incline, the enſuing *Parliament* was wholly made up of ſuch perſons, as had already voted in their words and actions every thing the Queen could deſire to have confirmed in the Houſe: ſo as no ſide but were miſtaken in their account, the *Proteſtants* gaining more, and the *Catholicks* leſs than could be expected, to the taking the title of *Head of the Church*, and conferring it on her Majeſty, which was thought unſuitable to her Father and Brother, and therefore far more unbecoming the the perſon of a Woman: the cauſe a *Declaration* was not long after iſſued out, to ſhew in what ſenſes it was to be underſtood. And to prove they more intended the limitation of the *Roman Power*, than to ſecure themſelves from Tyranny at home, an *Act* was paſſed inabling the *Queen and Commiſſioners* for the time being, to alter or bring what *Ceremonies* or *Worſhip* they thought decent into the ſervice of God, without excepting that formerly exploded: whereby a return, (likelieſt to be made uſe of) or a farther remove was left arbitrary at the will of the Queen: whoſe Succeſſors not being mentioned in the Act, left room to queſtion

ſtion, It ought to be no longer in force than her life. For whoſe gratification alone her Privie Council (that did then, and indeed almoſt all her time govern Parliaments) had intended it. But King *James* and the *Biſhops* finding the Advantage it brought the *Crown* no leſs than the *Church*, did not only own it amongſt the Statutes unrepealed and in force, but did print it with a Proclamation to ſtrengthen it, at the beginning of the Book of *Common-prayer*. Neither had the high Commiſſion any better Vizard to face the Tyranny daily practiſed by the Clergy, but what the Authority this Act did afford; which may one day tempt the People to a new, if not a more diſmal *Reformation*, after experience hath taught them how pernicious it is to entruſt either Prince or Prieſt with any power capable of abuſe: yet to the honour of this Princeſs it may juſtly be ſaid that ſhe never made uſe of her own liberty to enſlave the Nation, but repaid, or rather exceeded in thanks and acknowledgments all Power they gave her; an Art loſt in theſe later Times, or thought unkingly. But I leave this her Wiſdom to be juſtified by the happy ſucceſs.

4. After the Queen had in Parliament, cleanſed her *Birth* from all the ſpots the poiſon of tongues had aſperſed her with, and received for the future from the *Houſes* in the name of the *Three Eſtates* a promiſe of aſſiſtance, together with an Oath of Obedience, by which ſhe might reſt ſecure from within; her next endeavour was to line and fortifie her *out-works*: In the pro-

profecution of which ſhe was forced through Reaſon of State upon a deeper ingratitude than I believe any thing but an impulſive neceſſity could have caſt her into: For after a firm ſettlement ſhe became the ſevereſt Scourge to *Spain*, that it ever had, ſince emancipated from the *Moors*. The occaſion of which ſome lay at the haughty and proud Gate of the *Spaniard*; who grew implacable after he found he was deluded of his hope to marry her; others to a nature reſiding in all Princes, not to acknowledge any friends or kindred but what are allied to a capacity of doing them ſome future good, which *Philip* the 2. was not likely to do upon any remoter occaſion than the poſſeſſion of her perſon, his ends being intent upon an abſolute Monarchy: which obliged not only *England* but all the Princes in *Europe* to oppoſe him. Nor could any favour received in the relation of a private perſon bind her more to requital, than greater injuries did to revenge. Therefore ſince ſhe forgave the latter, when ſhe had power to have taken it without danger, ſhe ſeems more excuſable in omitting the firſt, which could not have been done without loſs, and expoſing her Subjects to a viſible inconvenience, if not a total ruine.

Yet this is manifeſt in the Hiſtories on both ſides, that the Queen did by way of mediation, long indeavour for a milder Governing of his *Dutch* Subjects (of whoſe oppreſſion both Heaven and Earth are witneſſes) before a Sword was drawn in their defence. And for the *Treaſure taken at Sea*, and at firſt owned but

but as borrowed, it was not more than the Faith of *England* might have been a ſufficient ſecurity for, without being made the ſubject of a War. Nor did the *Catholick King* remain long in a condition able to diſtreſs the affairs of *England*, his power being diverted through a malecontented party that ſtood up for Religion in the *Netherlands*, at firſt fomented by *France*, and after more cordially aſſiſted by our *Queen*; who delighted more from her firſt aſſumption to Power in raiſing broils, and making her ſelf an Arbitrator of others differences, than in any quarrel contracted of her own: by which ſhe did not only keep her ſelf in plight at home, by ſparing mony harder parted with by the Engliſh than bloud) but gained ſo much reputation abroad, as no publick or private indeavours of *his Holineſs* could ſtop other Nations (already ſcandalized at his baſe and unworthy Jugling in the *Council*) from confirming or making new or ſtreighter Leagues with *England* than formerly they had done: looking upon her *Defection* as a preſident they might one day be forced to follow, in caſe the *Court of Rome* continued ſtill her Contumacy towards Princes: And therefore likelier to meet her with comfort and aſſiſtance, than any force to oppoſe her. From whence *his Holineſs* was neceſſitated, in vindication of his Honour, to imploy the *Jeſuites*, his own Emiſſaries, by Artifice, Poyſon, or the Knife to bring about that his Sword was not able to execute; ſo as the Peace of her Kingdom was at firſt more interrupted through

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privy Conſpiracies than open force: which according to the guiſe of all unſucceſsful Treaſons, turned to the diſadvantage of themſelves and their Party, the poor *Catholicks*; againſt whom nothing in relation to the generality remains upon due proof ſufficient to juſtifie the ſeverity of the Laws dayly enacted and put in execution againſt them; wherewith they were ground in pieces between the *Popes* Obſtinacy, and a Jealouſie theſe practices bred in their natural Prince; by whom they were without queſtion proſecuted rather out of fear than malice: which *his Holineſs* at length perceiving, did offer what he before denied, which was to *confirm her Title, and ratifie the uſe of the Common-Prayer*, with the moſt of what the *Parliament* had confirmed upon her; provided ſhe would receive them as favours from the *Apoſtolical See*. But after this his too late compliance had caſt him into their condition that have unadviſedly out ſtood the Market, he in no ſhallower Malice than deſpair, caſt not only the perſon of the Queen, but the whole Nation, under a bottomleſs *Interdict*, which was thundered out at *Rome*, and hung like a Squib by one *Felton* upon the *Biſhop of London's Gate*, where after the execution of the party that did it, all other malignancy ceaſed, but what fell upon his own creatures, who till then were not forbidden to communicate (in publick Service) with the *Church* of *England*, and ſo harder to be diſcovered, than ſince this open rupture. Nor was the *Queen of Scots* (whoſe Tragical Hiſtory is to be found every where written

written at large) more obliged to her Catholick Father, through whose incouragement she was tempted to assume the *Title* and *Arms of England* very unseasonbly during her husbands sickness, and before her own Kingdom was setled, or any considerable force manifested, in her favour: It not pleasing *France* it self (of whose King she was after the Relict) to see all *Britanny* united under one Crown: and from whence dropped so much of the veriome of Jealousy into the hearts of *Elizabeth* and her Counsel, as no means was left unsought likely to distress her, especially by the *Puritan party*, whose safety lay in her destruction, and who shunned no undecency carrying any probability of being instrumental in her remove; forgetting that the persons of Princes have been thought by all wise men too sacred to have any hand or Justice appear in their death but Gods. Now as these studied all ways to destroy her, so there was as considerable a Faction in the *English Court* that desired her preservation, the cause not only that held her long captive (many wishing her restraint that abhorred her execution) but deterred all who had either estate or honour to loose, from attempting in their own person, or conniving at any other likely to be so wicked as to make her away: though our Queen may be found in many of her Letters intimating so much to such as kept her, who were so wise as not to understand what was meant, else they might have fallen into the fortune of *Davison*, who unadvisedly

ventering between the honour and ſafety of his Prince, was ground to nothing betwixt the fury of one party and ſhame of the other: Thus becauſe no body either would or durſt do it alone, the reproach was intayled upon the whole Nation, by the apparition of a mimical and counterfeit Juſtice: Reaſon of State in ſuch nice points as theſe, being ſo contrary to that in the Schools, as it is moſt ſafe and honourable when it hath the leaſt Authority to vouch it. And if the Actors of this Tragedy had not found more ſecurity from the long reign of *Elizabeth*, than the applauſe they had from *Scotland* was able to have afforded them upon the next change, I believe ſo many of their race had not ſate in the houſe of Lords. Nor was the amorous rather than traiterous blood of the *Duke of Norfolk*, ſpilt on the ſcaffold for her ſake, more conſonant to Juſtice or the affections of her Subjects, though quietly indured, as a number of other particulars which happened in her time, that were not able to make anſwer or give a perfect account, ſome to Juſtice, others to Diſcretion. This proves that the common people are like rivers which do ſeldom grow ſo impetuous as to tranſcend the banks of Obedience, but upon the overflowing of an epidemical and illegal Oppreſſion.

5. Not to wade any farther in this, the greateſt blur I find objected to her honour, or prudence of thoſe aſſiſted at the helm, whoſe miſcarriage lay more in the Ceremony than ſubſtance of the thing, no leſs grateful to the preſent

ſent affairs of the Proteſtants in *Scotland* than *England*: it being the policy of thoſe times, as I believe it ought to be of theſe, to render Alliance no leſs acceptable to friends, than terrible to enemies; through a ſeaſonable ſupply of men and mony before delay (the betrayer of all confederations) hath rendered affairs deſperate: not omitted by her, who by ſea and land made it her conſtant practice to annoy the *Spaniard* through the conduct of thoſe Sons of *Neptune*, *Drake*, *Furbuſher*, *Cavendiſh*, Sr. *Walter Rawly &c.* and in that ſucceſsful firſt expedition to *Cales* under the Command of *Eſſex* (a man of a contexture not only ſutable to a Camp but grateful to Ladies) by which the *Catholick King* was ſo unexpectedly alarum'd, as *Cardinal d' Oſſat* owns it for the moſt univerſal Opinion, that the whole Nation or a great part of it might have been gained, had he proſecuted his immediate fortune to the extent of their fears; a number of the *Moriſco race* deſiring in that Juncture to change their maſter, for one more Chriſtian, though leſs Catholick, and under whom no *Inquiſition* was exerciſed. This made his coming back ſo ſoon thought as miraculous as his ſucceſs by thoſe that were ſtrangers to his *Commiſſion*, which he exceeded upon the temptation of a preſent terrour his landing cauſed in the Inhabitants, who in a confidence of their *Caſtles* had removed none of their goods, which rendered the booty ſo far conſiderable as few returned empty handed, and many by their future living

made demonſtration of ſo great an abundance, that he gained ſo much love on all ſides as his enemies durſt not impute to him for a fault, any direction he had tranſgreſſed, in being too prodigal in expoſing himſelf and the Army to danger; though his abuſing that Article of *making Knights* ſo apparent, had produced this Libel,

A Gentleman of Wales,
With a Knight at Cales,
And a Lord of the North *Country,*
A yeoman of Kent
Upon a rack't Rent
Will buy them out all three.

This happy ſucceſs did not only eſtate him in the affections of the Militia and thoſe addicted to the ſervice of *Mars*, but put a no leſs high eſteem on his counſels and indeavours, than it abated the price of his oppoſers, the moſt of whom belonged to the ſide-robe (not ſeldom at odds in war, but ever at enmity with ſouldiers during peace) who grew jealous that this ſpark, worn already in the ſame place of the Queens affections, from whence *Leceſter* that terreſtrial *Lucifer* was caſt, for abuſing his Soveraigns favour to pride and Murther, might through the Queens mediation or his own arts one day gain the Crown, to the prejudice of their intereſt, who had already vowed the uttermoſt of their indeavours to the *Scotiſh Title*, of whom he had this advantage, that whereas *Leceſter*

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was hated by the people for the death of many, and amongst the rest of the Earl of *Essex* his Father in *Ireland*, this abounded in their Love, no less then in the favour of his Prince, in whose heart his person had made as deep an impression, as his valour and affable nature had won upon her Subjects.

6. That she fomented Divisions abroad I hinted before, And now I must tell you she was not wanting in her indeavours to maintain *Factions at home*, by which she attained to the knowledge of all things that happened: so as no suit or design passed the royal assent, before she understood as much of reason as enemies or friends could bring for and against it; hearing the judgements of all, to her very Ladies and ordinary Servants: nor did this freedom of communication betray her future resolutions to discovery; for through a seeming *unconstancy*, or, as others will have it, one more natural, she did so often vary, as it was not easy to discover where or when she would conclude her buzzing, and give the blow: by which unsteady carriage she so befooled the Spys and Pensioners of forain Princes, as they were at a loss what to inform their Patrons of, or themselves how to resolve: The cause of the *Spanish Armado* in Eighty eight, an attempt held ridiculous by the *Flemings* and all acquainted with our seas, and only brought about through the over-confidence his Holiness had in a Catholick party, which he assured himself would appear upon the approach of a *Navy* stiled by him

invincible. Here may be noted that counsels grounded upon forain advice or any thing but a visible experience, do rarely succeed; for Interest in such as desire a change doth not seldom make them apprehend more advantages than really there are, and cover doubts and dangers they are privy to, out of a fear to dishearten the Prince they indeavour to imbark in their defence; as it fell out here, where not one man appeared in favour of the *Spaniard:* the very *Papist's* themselves being no less unwilling than the rest to see their native country in subjection to the ordinary cruelty found in Strangers.

7. But to be sure the former mentioned art of *dissembling with others* had stamped such a deep impression upon the Queens own Nature and passions, as she fixed upon nothing with precipitation: The distrust she had of all sides obliging her to the Justice of equal hearings, which few in Soveraignty will be at the trouble to afford: And from hence grew the infinite indulgence that appeared so long in favour of *Essex*; who becoming wanton from his late Success, though after moderated by some less happy, he grew into such heats and insolences towards any his Jealousy had marked for enemies, that the Queen, to keep even the scales between him and those of the *Cecilian party*, not only forbore to pamper him with new favours, but did not seldom frown upon him; though he had yet so true a friend of her affection, that upon the least semblance of submission and promise

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of return to a better temper, it did mediate for him: *Love, like a bone, becoming more ſtrong by breaches*; he being certain upon every reconciliation to receive from her double the value of that her anger had coſt him; Till theſe frequent repetitions of his faults and her forgiveneſs had ſwelled him into ſuch a Confidence of his own mediation that he looked upon all as enemies, that in their words or actions acknowlegded not his friendſhip, or, which was very ordinary in reſpect of his profuſe Liberality, did not wear ſome badge of his favour. And amongſt a number of theſe Sr. *Francis Bacon* was one, who in an *Apology* he printed to vindicate his fame from the imputation of ingratitude to *Eſſex*, confeſſeth him *far richer in Obligations than payments*; the fate of all that ſet too high a value upon friends purchaſed by any other coyn, than what bears the impreſs of an Intereſt depending upon a future hope, *It being the policy of Courtiers, if not the nature of Love, to conclude where it begins, which is for the moſt part in Expectation.* Now becauſe the generality of ſuuh as deſired his ruine might think that the favour his Miſtris ſhewed him proceeded from a nearer familiarity than I have been informed it did, by ſuch as reported her apter both in her ſelf and others to kindle the flames of Love, than quench them, They placed *Blunt*, a gallant Gentlement, and of an honourable extraction, in the ball of her eye, hoping by his application to draw from her heart the affection they thought mortal to them and their deſigns: but the whole reſult

concluding in a Duel, did rather inflame then abate the former account she made of him; The opinion of a *Champion* being more splendid (in the weak and Romantick sense of women, that admit of nothing fit to be made the object of a quarrel but themselves) and far above that of a Captain or General: So as Sr. *Edmund Cary*, brother to the Lord *Hunsden*, then *Chamberlain* and neer Kinsman to the Queen (from whose mouth I have most of this) told me, that though she chid them both, nothing pleased her better than a conceit she had, that her beauty (of which her flatterers had bred in her a higher esteem than an impartial ear or eye can think due from others report or her own pictures) was the subject of this quarrel; when God knows it grew from the stock of honour of which then they were very tender, and some mean expressions *Essex* used of *Blunt*, about his being imployed in *Ireland*, and not her amorous caresses, which age and in a manner an universal distribution of them had by this time rendred tedious if not loathsome, intimated in a modest expression uttered in my hearing by Sr. *Walter Rawley*, none of her least respected Servants, who upon some discourse of the *Duke of Buckingham*, said to this purpose, *That Minions were not so happy as vulgar judgements thought them, being frequently commanded to uncomely and sometimes unnatural imployments.*

8. But his enemies finding all complaints made to his disadvantage, though true, neglected,

lected, or hung upon the file amongſt ſuch as ſhe reſolved at her better leaſure to inquire into the proofs of, And remaining as obſtinate in a reſolution to deſtroy him as ſhe did yet appear in his preſervation; did indeavour, as a laſt refuge, to actuate his diſtruction by accumulating upon him ſuch high favours and honours as they obſerved moſt ſutable to his humour, and fortunes of the Sword-men through whoſe counſels they found him the moſt eaſy to be led, and amongſt whom many were placed neer his perſon by themſelves; And from theſe they received upon all emergencies advice of his carriage: It faring with him as it doth ordinarily betide honeſt and generous Natures, that periſh oftner through confidence, than diſtruſt. Not could any other means have removed this *Court Leviathan* (too deeply ſtrook with the harping-irons of malice) from the ocean of favour he lay in, but ſo *ample a Commiſſion* as might given his Ambition full power and room to expatiate in, by which he was moſt likely to be tug'd a ground; Not wiſe enough to apprehend Many things he found inſerted in his Patent, as *liberty to Pardon or puniſh the Iriſh Rebels ſutable to his own will; and power to reward with lands or honours all he eſteemed worthy*, were ſuch flowers of the Crown as his enemies (to the diſadvantage of whoſe friends he might imploy them) could not in reaſon but have found cauſe to oppoſe, had they been pick'd out for any milder deſign, than to deck a

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Garland for that head they meant to ſacrifice to their malice and revenge. But this being acted (though long before ſtudied) amongſt the laſt Scenes of her Tragedy, I ſhall defer the concluſion till ſome other time, Indeavouring here (according to my weak fancy, prompted only by Report) to draw a *proſpect of her Court*: where, all her raign, *Majeſty* and *Thriſt* did ſtrive for preheminence without incroaching upon any confine either of Baſeneſs or Pordigality. Nor can this be wondered at by ſuch as know the power ſhe derived from Law or cuſtom to be furniſhed with all *Proviſions* at a *ſet price*, By which a heavy Impoſition was cut off, found by experience to load *Greatneſs*, *ſeldom admitted to a cheap Market*: Sellers recompenſing their want of honour, by the Exciſe they put on ſuch as own it. And becauſe this was Arbitrary at the will of the *Green cloth* (a Court only intending *Proviſion* and *Carriages*) The *Purveyors*, upon whom lay the execution. And ſo by conſequence the envy, were, if guilty, at the mercy of every accuſer, being not ſeldom hang'd or put in the Pillory upon the diſcovery ſometimes of ſmall abuſes: Her Government appearing ſo full of policy, as ſhe was rarely found to interpoſe the power of the Crown in her own cauſe: Who by turning her face towards the ſins, and countenancing the puniſhment of ſuch Harpies, did beſides ſtop the future current of their Corruption; Through which ſhe became not only better ſerv'd, but gained an opinion of Juſtice, and Mercy towards her people:

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it being the male administration, more than badness of any Office, I ever knew during her raign or her Successours, legally erected, that raised murmuring in the people, the ill-boding voice of Sedition; which if heard, is not to be neglected, but like the Sea stopped by the banks of Justice; for if once in grows epidemical, all indeavours do rather inflame than moderate it, as thought to proceed more from necessity than love.

9. And here I think it not impertinent to insert a Story as it was related by an eye witness. A *Purveyor* having abused the *County of Kent*, upon her remove to *Green-wich* (whither she often resorted, being as I have heard the first air she breathed; and therefore most likely to agree with her) a Country man watching the time she went to walk, which was commonly early, and being wise enough to take his time when she stood unbent and quiet from the ordinary occasions she was taken up with, placing himself within the reach of her ear, did after the fashion of his coat, cry aloud *which is the Queen?* whereupon, as her manner was, she turned about towards him and he continuing still his question, she her self answered *I am your Queen, what would'st thou have with me? you* replied the Fellow, *are one of the rarest Women I ever saw, and can eat no more than my daughter* Madge, *who is thought the propereſt Lass in our Parish, though short of you, but that* Queen Elizabeth *I look for, devours so many of my* Hens, Ducks, *and* Capons, *as I am not able to live.* The Queen, no less auspi-

auſpicious to all ſutes made through the mediation of her comly ſhape, of which ſhe held a high eſteem after her Looking Glaſſes (long laid by before her death) might have confuted her in any good opinion of her Face, then malignant to all Oppreſſion above her own, inquired who was *Purveyer*, and as the ſtory went ſuffered him to be hang'd: after a ſpecial order for his trial, according to a Statute formerly made to prevent abuſes in this kind.

10. This Princeſs, in imitation of her Father *Henry the eighth* did admit none about her for *Penſioners*, *Privy-Chamber-men*, *Squiers of the body*, *Carvers*, *Cup-bearers*, *Sewers &c.* (that were not a few in number) but *perſons of ſtature*, *ſtrength and birth*, refuſing to one her conſent (demanded before any could be admitted to the meaneſt place in her houſe,) becauſe he wanted a *tooth*; yet was never known to deſert any for age or other infirmity after once inrolled, but either coutinued them, or, upon their diſcharge, gave them conſiderable and well paid penſions. As for her *Guard*, *Uſhers*, *Porters*, and all attending *below Stayers*, they were of a no leſs extraordinary ſize, than activity for Shooting, throwing the Barr, Weight, Wraſtling &c. So that ſuch as came hither from beyond the ſeas upon Embaſy or curioſity (who calculate the ſtrength, wiſdom and honour of a Nation by the apparitions they behold at Court) had no other cauſe but to report at their return, That though a Feminine Conſtellation governed the Fate of *England*, yet there remained

mained little hope to any foraign Malignity of operating with ſucceſs; becauſe her deſigns were begotten under *Mercury*, and brought forth by the aſſiſtance of *Mars* in caſe of oppoſition: She owning Souldiers no leſs able to act, than Counſellours to adviſe; In whoſe choyce (for the moſt part) *wiſdom* was ſolely looked upon, not putting by Sufficiency though accompanied with a *mean Birth*, and *Crooked perſon*, as it chanced in a Father and Son of the *Cecils*, both incomparable for Prudence. It being ſometimes neceſſary to make wiſe men Noble, where Noblemen are too lazy and addicted to pleaſure to indeavour to be wiſe.

11. It is the higheſt ſtep of advantage a Prince can meet with, To have for *Counſel* about him, perſons whoſe fortunes are of the ſame peice with his own. The conſideration of which may abate the wonder *Queen Elizabeth* proſpered ſo well at the beginning, when incumbered both within and without by ſuch difficulties, or how ſhe came to out-reach (before ſcarce able to ſtand upon her own leggs) ſo exact a Maſter in *King-craft*, as the *Spaniard*. I confeſs her being a *woman* did render the delay of *Marriage* more ſutable to his patience and her honour, than otherwiſe it could have been; But the dexterous management of this advantage muſt be attributed to the great wit of her *Junctio*, amongſt whom her greateſt Confidents were of the *Auguſtan Confeſſion* and therefore unlikely to continue in favour, if in being, after ſuch a Conjunction

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as *Philip the Second* desired. Nor could distance of place, the deluder of eyes, hinder the inspection of that Prince, who having commanded in *England* some years under the right of *Mary*, could not but in probability hear all that was to be known. And if we may guesse at the *Queens* carriage in this, by her proceedings in the two *Treaties of Marriage* after with *France*, we may presume she did purchase this delay, (if not buy off the discovery of some *Infirmity*) with the Articles of her Opinion contrary to those of *Rome*, and to which, as appears by an old letter, the *Catholick King* was not at that time averse. Though upon her deluding him, to avoid such a Schism in the lower *Germany* as had happened in the upper, he did indeavour to introduce the *Inquisition*: Fortune having rendered him so indulgent from the beginning to the Queens preservation, that he sold the *Low-Countries*, the the only place able to purchace her peace, a bargain (as I have heard from the *Earl of Leicester* the last English man Governour of *Flushing*) fomented by those that treated this Match for her Majesty: which found, *Pope Pius* darted out the former mentioned *Excommunication*, till then restrained through the mediation of *Philip*. I shall not determine whether it was Godly zeal or wordly intereſt that prompted their judgements to these accurate counsels, since I find both in some part gratified by future success: Though I see cause enough in the latter to imploy all the brains, both of the *Protestants* and *Papists* in power about

about her; the one owning their lives to her well being, and the other *Abby-Lands* to the continuance of it: for though Sr. *John Parsons* told me he had seen a *Bull* amongst Mr. *Seldens* Antiquities, by which *the Pope confirmed the lands of the Church in the hands of their present possessours, provided they in other respects continued under his Obedience*, yet whether this might be safely trusted to, I leave in suspence, and to their consideration that may remember they were fifty years ago valued much below other Titles and Demeans.

12. The cause, It may be thought Interest as much as Love in her *Privy Counsel* that till *Leicesters* days, none are found to have received *Pensions* from forain *Princes* or to play booty or deal treacherously in his Imployments either at home or abroad: nor were honourable and *gainful Offices* during her abode at the helm given to men of no larger capacities than were meerly requisite to the execution of the place; But bestowed upon such publique Spirits as were able to advise in the most crabbed affairs, by which the charge of their support was born and the Common-weal served with men under a double Capacity. Now though we must yield to *Solomon*, that *safety is to be found in a multitude of Counsellors*; Yet *Secrecy* is commonly absent in all Assemblies but where a few resolve: for which and perfect *Intelligence* from abroad (the light and director of the bark of Prudence) if any age before, I am sure none since can be compared with the

the days of *Burgly* and *Walſingham* in this particular; whoſe ſteps Archbiſhop *Bancroft* followed ſo cloſe, as by fomenting a difference between the *Jeſuits* and *Regulars*, he made a breach in their Unity, the ſtrongeſt argument they have to ſupport the *Papacy*; And, illuminated by ſo clear a judgement, did through their claſhing make ſo perfect an inſpection into the ſecular practices of the *Conſiſtory in Rome*, as he prevented many dangers might have other ways fallen upon the Nation: for which *Blackwell*, the then Popiſh *Metropolitan*, lay under ſome ſuſpicion from the contrary Faction, how juſtly I know not. Yet have heard, that no Prieſt was landed any time in *England*, but the *Biſhop* had a perfect Character of his temper and relations; The eaſier brought about by him that (in the eſtimation of the *Puritans*) owned moſt of the Tenets, being beſide no rigid perſecuter of any who had not in his compoſition the gall of Treaſon mixed with Religion: the *Regulars* being then in a high eſteem, becauſe their oppoſers the *Jeſuits* were about that time baniſhed *France*, and their *Cells* demoliſhed, with a *Pyramid* erected to their infamy; for an indeavour to Aſſaſſinate *Henry the fourth*. And from this Indulgence of the *Arch-biſhop* grew more ſecurity than danger, becauſe ſuch *Prieſts* as were connived at (the moſt of other *Orders*) looked upon the *Jeſuits* as enemies, and all new-comers of their own under a no milder aſpect than intruders on their profit, And therefore the more inquiſitive

quiſitive after their conditions, and if found pragmatical, it was no hard matter to purchaſe their remove by the mediation of one ſo near the helm as the *Biſhop* was, who beſides the quality of Secreſie remained ſo conſtant to his promiſe, as it was more ſafety than danger for them to relie upon his word. And that ſome cunning *Seminaries* did endeavour the monopolizing amongſt themſelves all the profit to be made by the *Engliſh Catholicks*, I have a preſumption of mine own from a *Prieſt* I met with on the other ſide the Water, who told me he lived far better during the Tyranny (as he was pleaſed to call it) of *Queen Elizabeth*, than ſince the licenſe afforded under *K. James*, by which divers young Scholars of both the Univerſities were daily tempted into Orders, and many (reſtrained before out of love to their ſafety) did now go over in ſhoals, to the great detriment of the old ſtanders. Yet notwithſtanding the incomparable diligence of this Prelate, under two Princes, for the preſervation of peace and unity, He was abominated by the preciſer ſort, the heat of whoſe zeal appears the more unnatural, becauſe their mouths were furred wtih bitter and unſavory Invectives, which followed him after the hand of Death had laid him out of the reach of all other favour but what is due to his deſert from Charity and Gratitude. Therefore to be ſtrongly preſumed the worſt malice could invent. And inſerted by me, according to the Mode of an Hiſtorian, whoſe Plough (for the ſake of Poſterity) I wiſh I were able to drive, However I am

no ways correſpondent for the praiſe or blame due to any verſes found here, ſuch as theſe,

Here lies my Lords Grace *at ſix and at ſeven,*
And, if I do not lie, His Soul is in Heaven:

I wiſh with my heart it may be to his leeking,
Since all the World knows it was never his Seeking.

Another.

Bancroft *was for* Plays,
Lean Lent, *and* Holy-days,
But now under-goes their Doom:

Had Engliſh Ladies ſtore,
Yet kept open a Back-dore
To let in the Strumpet of Rome.

I confeſs I have heard him Characterred for a *Jovial Doctor*, but very Jealous of the Clergies Revenue, no leſs than his Countries ſafety, which he endeavoured to bring about through a reduction of *Britanny* into one Form of Worſhip, by the train of *Calvin* moſt rigidly oppoſed: But the *two contrary Factions at Court* (one of them thinking all things fit to be deſtroyed, the other laboured to preſerve) did, upon the vacancy of every *Biſhoprick* put one in ſuitable to their humours that had the luck to prevail: The cauſe the preſent Incumbent did, like the Web of *Penelope*, unravel what his Predeceſſor had

had with more policie and charity twisted: By which means the Dioceſſes of *Canterbury* and *York* were at one and the ſame time of contrary judgments. And the beſt of Clergymen (driven into a *medium* by the ſcorching heat of the one ſide, and chill indifferency of the other) loſt their labour and all hope of preferment in a vain indeavour for a reconciliation, unpoſſible to be brought about, the one Party being fomented by hypocriſie to bear out their Ignorance, and the other from Power and a fear of reverting into the primitive Auſterity: which held ſo long in this unconſtant viciſſitude, till what was continued meerly out of Policie at Court, did in a ſhort time branch forth in City and Country into divers popular differences, ſutable to the mold of every head, and the intereſt of ſuch perſons as had the ſubtilty to fit them to their occaſions: *Zeal, like Lead, being as ready to drop into Bullets, as to mingle with a Compoſition fit for Medicine.* So as in thoſe days it was unpoſſible for men in Power, but to be ſcandalous to one ſide or other.

13. *Diſpatches* from the *Council Table* (of which I have ſeen Volumes) began and held on throughout in a plain and the ſame Stile, not ſeldom admitting of ſeveral conſtructions, if of any interpretation at all where the buſineſs related to a thing whoſe conſequence could not eaſily be ſeen into: As appears at the beginning of all Treaties, and eſpecially in the *two offers of Marriage* with *France*, which the Queen managed with ſuch dexterity and

ſecreſie, that wiſe *Walſingham* (as appears by his *Letters*) through whoſe hands the whole buſineſs paſſed, did not know certainly whether ſhe was real or no: But in what was thought proper for Tranſaction, all things were plain drawn in *Latine*: This put together did much facilitate the Office of her *Secretaries*.

14. Now as Wiſdom and Secreſie appeared in her Council Chamber, ſo *Hoſpitality*, *Charity*, and *Splendor*, were dilated over the whole *Court*; where, upon the leaſt acquaintance, all Strangers from the Noble-man to the Peaſant, were invited to one *Table* or other (of which ſhe kept abundance, where-ever ſhe removed from one ſtanding houſe to another, unleſs ſhe returned to *White Hall* at night) the leaſt conſiderable ſuiting with three, four, or five hundred pounds *per annum* expence; And for Bread, Beer, and Wine, (commonly called by the name of *Budge*) though the Purveyors that brought it in, were called to ſtrict accounts, ſuch as iſſued them out were rarely queſtioned, but in caſe they ſold it: And by this Generoſity the ordinary ſort of people were ſo endeared, as I have known ſome brag of their entertainment at Court twenty years after; ſuch, like Dogs ſeldom biting thoſe have once fed them, Though with the ſame meat they have been at the pains to catch themſelves; It coming all out of the Country mans Barns or Yards, The Wine being little when Cuſtom was abated.

15. Yet though ſhe was thus plentifully provided

vided of all things at home, ſhe did not ſeldom fetch an *Entertainment* at ſuch *Grandees* houſes as were underſtood to be moſt *popular*: By which ſhe removed her Subjects eyes from intending wholy the influence of theſe inferiour Stars, and fixed them upon a greater ſplendor of her own: beſides her out-doing them in the Art of Popularity, acting to the life the Pageant of the People (which all Princes really are, and the wiſeſt the moſt Gaudy) from whence it is far more indearing to throw Flowers than Wild-fire: And if this her *affability* did not work upon the will, the greatneſs of their Expence did not fail to render them leſs able to hurt: And in caſe this was not ſufficient to moderate their ambitious thirſt after Popularity, ſhe found them diverſions in foreign *Imployments*, whither they were ſent *Embaſſadors* or *Agents*, by which their eſtates were gelt, and the owners rendered the leſs rampant and unable to maintain their former bewitching humour of *Hoſpitality*; ſo as in *Parliaments* they became aſſertors of the profit of the Crown, in hope to have ſuch debts refunded as had been contracted by themſelves in the ſervice of the State; whoſe honour ſhe preſerved at the loweſt expence that ever Prince did, and not ſeldom at their charge who might otherwiſe have imployed their revenues in fomenting Sedition.

16. The *Parliament* knowing not where to fix upon a *Succeſſor* to the Crown without the hazard of Religion, or danger of a Civil War; the *Regent* of *Scotland* having yet no

Child, and being too ſtrongly ſupported from *France* to miſcarry under a title ſo firmly built as the Catholicks maintained hers was to this Nation (if not in preſent) upon the death of the Queen, did in the firſt *Petition* they made, invite her Majeſty to take a *Husband:* In which they minded more their future, than preſent felicity, not ſo likely to reſult from a Married as a Single Prince, whoſe expence cannot chuſe but ſwell proportionable to the off-ſpring produced: And in this they were ſo moderate as to paſs by all mention of a *Succeſſor*, ever ungrateful to her ears during the whole Series of her Reign, and not ſeldom fatal to ſuch as were ſo hardy as to move it: So as it coſt ſome dearer, and *Pigot* and *Wentworth* their Liberty, though they propoſed it in *Parliament*; The ſafety ſhe her ſelf found in the concealing her intent, out-voting, the danger of a Civil War, which in all humane reaſon could not but impend the Nation, in caſe of her death: For whileſt ſhe obſerved this impartial neutrality, none could pretend cauſe of complaint. And in caſe any one had made oſtentation of a *Title* before the People, ſhe had the reſt ready to aſperſe it; there remaining none free from Objections, the moſt legitimate in appearance paſſing for an *Alien* and ſo uncapable, or an Enemy and ſo incompetent to govern: It being as impoſſible to pleaſe, as dangerous to oppoſe the weakeſt intereſt of the *Papiſt*, *Puritan* or *Proteſtant*. But to this requeſt of her *great Council* (which ſhe could not hinder, being the deſire of the *Court*

as

as well as the ſenſe of the *Parliament*) ſhe returned a ſtout, though but an uncertain *Anſwer*, as is legible in the common *Chronicles*, whoſe recitals I profeſs wilfully to ſhun, feeding my Pen rather with ſuch ſcraps as I have picked out of *Letters* and *Diſcourſe*, the Storehouſe of *Tradition*. Not ſo likely to flatter, if to lie, as the Writings of thoſe mean Contemporaries, that for the moſt part have imbarked their Pens in our *Engliſh* Affairs; who had ſtill ſome fear or hope at their Elbows ready to jog them towards the intereſt of the preſent or future Governours: Confeſſed by learned *Cambden* himſelf, whoſe lines were directed by King *James*, and he lead rather to vindicate the honour and integrity of his *Mother*, than to do right for a *Miſtriſs*, that had from a *School-maſter* raiſed him to a capacity of being the *firſt King at Arms*.

17. Her Sex did bear out many impertinences in her words and actions, as *her making Latine Speeches in the Univerſities*, and profeſſing her ſelf in publick *a Muſe*, then thought ſomething too Theatrical for a Virgin Prince, but eſpecially in her *Treaties* relating to Marriage; towards which ſome thought her uncapable by nature, others too propenſe, as may be found in the black relations of the *Jeſuits*, and ſome *French* and *Spaniſh Paſquilers*, that pretend to be more learned in the Art of Inſpection than wiſe *Henry the Fourth* their King, who in a jovial humour told a *Scotiſh* Marqueſs, *there were three things inſcrutable to intelligence*: 1. *Whether* Maurice *then Prince of*

Orange (who never fought battail, as he said) *was valiant in his person.* 2. *What Religion himself was of.* 3. *Whether* Q. Elizabeth *was a Maid or no:* which may render all reports dubious that come from meaner Men: yet it may be true that the Ladies of her Bedchamber denied to her body the ceremony of *searching* and imbalming, due to dead Monarchs: But that she had a *Son* bred in the State of *Venice*, and a *Daughter* I know not where nor when, with other strange tales that went on her, I neglect to insert, as fitter for a *Romance* than to mingle with so much truth and integrity as I profess: In which if I am in any thing mistaken, let it be laid on mine own want of knowledge, or their Ignorance that misled me. This I may safely attest, that the smallest chip of that incomparable Instrument of Honour, Peace and Safety to this now unhappy Nation, would have been then valued by the people of *England* above the loftiest branch in the *Calydonian* Grove. Who as she was the choicest Artist in *King-craft* that ever handled the Scepter in this Northern Climate, so she went beyond all her Ancestors in adapting to her Service the most proper tools, in whose fittest application she was seldom mistaken; The only cause can be given why she so rarely changed her *Secret Counsel*, especially those she made privy to any of her last results, which did not weakly contribute to her safety: Such resembling *Keyes*, that once lost or misplaced, no future security remains but in changing the *Lock*. And though this hath already fallen under my

my consideration, yet I am forced to resume it again in the vindication of the *choice* of some *Officers* about the middle of her Reign, accused since for weakness; which if not a mistake made by Envy, or for want of an exact understanding of the Parties use; some being placed, after the *Council* grew numerous, only to tell tales and ballance Votes she disliked in publick, without the least understanding of what was thought necessary to succeed in private, a multitude of hands adding dignity to Inland affairs, it being ordinary with the generality to esteem wisdom according to measure rather than weight. And amongst these few can be found out of her Kindred or such Friends as her *Fathers* Honour or her own Gratitude for kindness shewed during the life of her *Sister*, kept her from excluding them the Lists, though the stronger heads of others were wholy imployed when her occasions called her to grapple with any difficulties. Nor was there more than the honour and profit of *Lord High Admiral* intrusted with *the E. of Nottingham*, but executed by a *Commission* selected out of the ablest Sea-men that Age did afford; he being imployed for his *fidelity*, known to be impregnable in relation to Corruption: neither was there a goodlier man for *person* in *Europe*, as my eyes did witness though they met not with him before he was turned towards the point of 80, no youth being more celebrated for *gallantry* and *good fortune* than his. I confess that in his Age he *married a young Lady* allied to *K. James*, which set his Wisdom many degrees back in the repute of the World.

But

But to discharge this cavil from any farther dispute, No Prince then extant took an exacter estimate of her *Subjects abilities* to serve her, or made a deeper inspection into their Aptitude, Nature, and Humours; to which with a rare dexterity she fitted her favours and their Imployments; as may be instanced in *Francis Vere*, a man nobly descended, *Walter Rawley* exactly qualified, with many others set apart in her Judgment for military services, whose Titles she never raised above *Knighthood*; saying, when importuned to make *General Vere* a *Baron*, that *in his proper Sphere and in her estimation he was above it already*; therefore all could be expected from such an addition, would be the entombing of the spirit of a brave *Souldier* in the corps of a less sightly *Courtier*; and by tempting him from his charge, hazard that repute upon a *Carpet*, his valour had dearly purchased him in the *Field*. Nor could she indure to see her Subjects wear the titles of a Foreign Prince; the cause she committed Sir *Matthew Arrondel* of *Warder* in the West, for accepting from the *German Cæsar* the Dignity of a *Count*; and denied Sr. *Philip Sidney* the Crown of *Poland*.

18. The example of *modesty* her *Souldiers expreſt* in the *Netherlands*, rarely found amongst Auxiliaries, with her refusal to own or impose the name of *her Vassals* upon the *Dutch*, gained her a huge confidence amongst her Neighbors, that her complexion was pure from the contagion of any more destructive *Ambition*, than the preservation of her Honour and those Nations

tions her Birth no leſs than Deſert had preſented her with: which made them unapter to offend her; none but *Catholicks*, and they for the moſt part *Prieſts*, wiſhing her remove, as not knowing where to find a Prince leſs offenſive and more *debonaire*; the cauſe many *Treaſons* concluded in the loſs of their heads that projected them, or ſought to put them in execution. Yet in this her temperament of deſire in relation to *augmentation of Empire*, her prudence ſo minded her of the Nations future ſafety, as that Friends under perſecution do not ſeldom face about upon the approach of Security and Power: wherefore ſhe made ſure of *Fluſhing* and *Brill*; which in regard of ſituation were ſo full a *Content* of their whole ſtrength, as the application of it could not, upon their miſcarriage in relation to the *Catholick King*, or their own future Ingratitude, obliterate the advantage that *England* might make of that Revolt, though the money lent covered it in Reaſon and Juſtice from much of the envy it might have contracted, had ſhe imployed force or fraud in their purchaſe. Nor did the receiving from the hands of the *French* Hugonots, *Haver de Grace*, (upon a like exegencie) ſignifie more ambition than the reduction of *Calis*; which might have undoubtedly ſucceeded, had ſhe not according to her uſual cuſtom, ſtarved the Deſign for want of Mony and Men; a fault the more excuſable, becauſe it relates to the tender care and reſpect had of her Subjects Lives and Eſtates. And here by the way, it is worth noting, That the *Hollanders* could

not

not ſo eaſily have attained *Freedom*, but through the help of the Miniſters of *Spain*, who by eradicating the ancient *Nobility* and *Gentry* reduced them into a *Parity*, and ſo by conſequence made them capable of Unity, the Nurſe of all Combinations.

19. Amongſt all her *Minions* none (according to report) had fairer for *the Queens Bride-bed* than *Leiceſter*, who, finding by the continual high beating of her heart, that ſhe would never allow of ſo great an abatement of Soveraignty as a *Match* with a foreign Prince, could not but in honour have made the Sails of his expectation ſomewhat ſwelled therewith, would in her gaities (which till the death of *Eſſex* were very frequent) ask her, 'If ſhe did not think ſhe 'had ſome Subject of her own, able (though it 'muſt be confeſſed none worthy) to make an 'Heir for the Kingdom of *England?* Since her '*Father* was *known* to do it, yet a Man, and ſo 'uncapable of any eclipſe of *honor* by the higheſt 'Princeſs? Neither did his often repeated con'deſcentions in making Subjects his after-wives 'breed him that danger that he ſuſtained by the 'firſt glorious *Match* (according to expectation) 'that he made with the *Siſter* of *Charles* the '*Emperor*, which all the Prudence he owned 'could not unravel without ſtraining the Cords 'of Government, if not Conſcience, by that de'ſperate leap he made out of the Church of '*Rome*, and ſeparating himſelf from the union 'of other Princes. Nor did *Philip the ſecond* 'prove more happy to your Siſter for the pre'ſent, nor to the future expectation of the Na'tion that lacked nothing to entail ſervitude

'upon

'upon them but an Heir of her body; which 'yet had not been wanting, according to report, 'but supplied by a Cushion, but that the gene-'rosity of the *Spaniard*, and the perswasion of a 'better success from your embraces (which his 'hopes flattered him with) did for the present 'make him to detest it: The cause it was after 'voiced to be a False Conception. All which I have heard often, and read somewhere; though the Author hath escaped my memory: Nor could *Leicester* render his Bed vacant to a more thriving end (as he is rumor'd to have done) than to make room for the greatest and most fortunate Princes the Sun ever looked upon without blushing in relation to Oppression or Blood: This may be allowed upon the score of probability, that his Lordship would hardly have been so *rampant* and *uncivil* without some extraordinary invitation, as to draw a *blow* in her presence from another *Privy Counseller*, more zealous possibly than discreet, to whom when the Queen said, *He had forfeited his hand*; his reply was, *he hoped she would suspend that judgment, till the Traitor had lost his head, who did better deserve it*: But this accident bordering so near the confines of her Honour did admit no farther debate; it being no other than she in a less sprightful humour might have given him her self, none being more flexible to all kind of Jollities than the minds of Princes when unbent from publick affairs. Now whether these *Amorosities* were natural, or meerly poetical and personated, I leave to conjecture, that may ever find imployment in the actions of Kings. This I am sure of, these gaudy gleams

of

of favour ſhone not long upon any ſingle perſon, but were ſoon eclipſed upon the apparition of a freſh Spark. And here to conclude any farther diſcourſe of *Leiceſter*, he was a man of eminency for Perſon, but branded by his Enemies (of which he had not a few) for a defect in Wiſdom or Integrity during his aboad in the *Netherlands* where with no good ſucceſs he executed the place of the *Queens General*.

20. This Princeſs uſed never to precipitate a *retaliation* in reference to *Foreign Injuries*: by which her Enemies had leiſure given them to conſider of a *reparation*, no leſs than her ſelf of Revenge in caſe of Contumacy, and time to put her ſtrength in the better array; Manifeſt throughout her whole expedition into *Scotland*, where though ſhe had fomented ſuch a Party of the *Nobility* of that Nation as were able to receive and ſecure a force of her own, which upon their interceſſion ſhe ſent, yet was it without any Commiſſion to fight or take notice of the Crown of *France*, from whom the *Scotch Queen* was immediately aſſiſted, but only againſt the Houſe of *Guiſe* that were meerly inſtrumental in behalf of their Siſter *Mary*. Contrary to the moſt ordinary practice of our leſs adviſed Monarchs, who to gratifie the clamor of a few *embarked Merchants*, and to vindicate an honour capable of the diminution, but from a total neglect or viſible incapacitie of being ever able to right it ſelf, do, like inconſiderate *Bees*, in a raſh and paſſionate Diſtemper, by miſimploying their *Stings*

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(all the natural force they have) render themſelves (for the future) weak and contemptible, by an unſeaſonable demonſtration of the worſt they can do; which, till experimented, is for the moſt part imagined greater than in truth it is.

21. Her frequent calling *Parliaments*, and not ſtaying till ſhe was compelled, kept them in ſo moderate a temper, as they were more awfull to the Country than the Court; where ſome grievances might be connived at, but never approved, ſo the eaſier accounted for when called to queſtion: nor do I find her conceſſion granted to any *Statute* for her peoples good, by way of exchange, but purely out of grace, and for the moſt part before it was deſired: Wiſely projecting, that when *Neceſſity is the Chapman, the Market doth naturally run high.* Therefore being chaſt from all other intruſion upon the Nations Liberty, but what reſpected common ſafety and the honour of the Crown; ſhe was able without murmur to *commit ſuch of the Houſe of Commons* as preſumed to meddle or enquire who was moſt fit or had the beſt right to ſucceed her. Neither was ſhe leſs tender and jealous of Diſputes in *Religion*, an apple in the eye of Government, which if once ſuffered to roll and grow wanton, will render the Peoples minds unſteady betwixt the obedience they owe to God and their Prince: fondly imagining the firſt may be gratified at the prejudice of the later. Zeal being the Flint, and Ambition the Steel out of which the Sparks of Rebellion have in our days kindled the moſt fatal miſ-

miſchiefs; which ſhe kept during her reign from claſhing, by denying the *Parliament* all farther debate of *Eccleſiaſtical Ceremonies*, and ſhewing them their no leſs injuſtice than levity to queſtion what they had ſo firmly eſtated in her Perſon, who was yet reſolved to introduce no more than what was lately confirmed by themſelves, or their Fathers; ſo notorious to all, as the Doctrine profeſſed moſt generally in *England* bore in foreign nations the name of *Parliament-faith*. Nor was this her prudent reſtraint looked upon with any great reluctancy by any but *Cartwright* and ſome ſuch addle-heads, whoſe Judgments were trimmed according to the mode of *Amſterdam*; of whoſe diſtempered paſſions the Q. made ſo much advantage, as to keep the *Church* humble and quiet whilſt ſhe gelt their *Sees* by exchanges, and other mortifications of their power and eſtates, which during her life were not ſuffered to blaze out in their *Eccleſiaſtical Offices*, as ſince they did: which is the only viſible cauſe can be given, why ſo much worth as reſided in this Princeſs is ſo little celebrated. And all this wheeled about with the leſs diſturbance of the higher Orbs, becauſe few oppoſers of *Church Diſcipline* were in her days eligible, or ſo much in favour with the people, being for the moſt part oppreſſors, or indicted of hypocriſie; the moſt eminent for Parts, Titles, or Eſtates (as it falls out in relation to new Schiſms) growing weary or full ſatisfied with the profit already gained by the great leap themſelves, or their Anceſtors had made from *Rome:* Nor were the poorer ſort better apaid when they compared the preſent hoſpitality with that reported of

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old before the *Religious houſes* were demoliſhed, the cauſe I have not ſeldom my ſelf heard them wiſh a return to the *Catholick Church* under the title of *the old Learning*: Not ſo well pleaſed with the *ſaving doctrine* of the *Proteſtant* profeſſion, as they formerly were under the more liberal diſtributions of the *Monaſteries*. Nor was it the guiſe of theſe prudent times to *diſſolve Parliaments* in diſcontent (by which a quarrel ſeemed to be picked with the whole nation) But to *adjourn* them in Love. Wherefore having to do with the ſame men, ſhe was ſeldom compelled to alter her courſe; it being unpoſſible that a Prince who had her peoples affection in groſs, ſhould find it wanting in their *Repreſentative*. And it is no leſs remarkable, that in ſo long a raign ſhe never was forced (as I have heard) to make uſe of her *Negative power*; But had ſtill ſuch a party in the *houſe of Lords* as were able to ſave her that labour. Neither was ſhe ever terrified by fear, to beſtow *Office* or *Honour* upon any out of no other reaſon than to draw them from the contrary party; unleſs *Seminaries*, and of this ſhe grew at laſt weary, ſaying once in publick, *ſhe would not raſom her ſelf from enemies at the price of their preferments that lov'd her*. But in caſe ſhe found any likely to interrupt her occaſions, ſhe did ſeaſonably prevent him by a chargable Employment abroad, or putting him upon ſome ſervice at home ſhe knew leaſt grateful to the people: contrary to a falſe Maxim, ſince practiſed with far worſe ſucceſs, by ſuch Princes who thought it *bet-*

ter husbandry to buy off Enemies, than reward Friends: which once obſerved, it tempted ſome that were ambitious to lay out the ſtrongeſt of their endeavours againſt their Prince only in hope to be bought off. And for ſuch as deſired a farther recoyl from the *Pope* than was thought fit to be made, they were not ſo numerous or well agreed yet, as to actuate any diſturbance, being for the moſt part poor, and, as all *Schiſmatiks* do at firſt, glorying more in Suffering, than in any other oppoſition but what they are able to raiſe with their pens or tongues, in which they were no leſs laviſh than bold and indiſcreet: yet meeting from the moſt in power only blame and contempt, they ſought out new habitations for themſelves and vents for their opinions in *Amſterdam*, where the *Dutch* alowed a general *Mart* for all *Religions* (the *Papacy* excepted) without any nicer limitation than obedience to the Magiſtrate in things purely Civil: And by this they did not only draw much of our *coyn* thither, but our *Manufactures* of *Weaving*, *Dying*, *Fulling*, *Spinning* and *Dreſſing of Cloth*, *Stuff &c.* Eaſie to have been prevented, by affording them an *Amſterdam* in *England*, ſome ſmall *City of Refuge*, over which her Majeſty might have ſet a diſcreet *Governour* with a *Gariſon*, whoſe charge they would willingly have born, beſides the payment of a large exciſe for their folly. Nor was there any danger in this, it being unpoſſible to make them unanimous: But the *Hierarchy* had been ſo bitten already by the Covetouſneſs of Princes

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and the ſharp and diſcerning Learning of the Laity, who unintereſted in the general Controverſies might have moderated to their diſadvantage or ſet on foot a farther and more rigid *Reformation* (which, though a terror to thoſe in power, is moſt delightful to the ears of the people.) That they perſwaded the *Queen*, it was *againſt Prudence and Piety to give them harbor*; yet in the mean time connived at *Lecturer* and *weekly Preaching*, through which they let in more by the Poſtern, than they could croud out at the great Gate. Wherefore, this found out, wiſdom ſhould rather have left the attempt in the hands of Time, the Moderator of all things diſputable, Than rendered them incorrigible through Oppoſition, the promoter of Error. I am the larger in this, leſt poſterity ſhould be to ſeek for the foundation of the moſt deſtructive Revolution the Sun ever held light to; which was begun by thouſands who never intended it, and wrought the ruine of that both ſides labour'd to preſerve, with an exceſſive advantage to ſuch as could neither expect or deſerve it.

22. Amongſt the greateſt things laid to her charge, as caſt behind the dore of *neglect*, was the conduct of the *affairs of Ireland*; a place lying, all her Halcyon days, under ſo great a contempt; (before *England's* leſs future felicity had brought it to eſteem) that wiſe *Walſingham* thought it no Treaſon to wiſh it *buried in the Sea*, conſidering the charge it brought: yet ſhe kept *the Pale* in good order, not ſuffering the *Spaniſh party* to grow more

potent in the *North*, than was convenient to consume his forces and divert him from nearer and more dangerous attempts. It being unpossible for her, without appearing grievous to her people (a Rock she chiefly studied to avoid) at one time to maintain so dreadful a Navy at Sea, and foment the *Dutch* and *French*, towards whose assistance she was called by a louder Necessity, than to render a Nation quite desolate: None being willing during her life to exchange the present Government of a Natural Princess, for the less happy Tyranny of a *Viceroy*; of which the most did study more their respective grandure by extending the war, than the ease of the Inhabitants and lessening the Queens expence: Till the Noble *Lord Mountjoy* was imploy'd, who had no other design than the conclusion of the work, which he had not yet so easily brought about but that the *Spaniards* found themselves betrayed through the covetousness and cowardise of the *Natives*, that for small sums would sell not only such foraigners as came to help them, but their neerest Relations: Wherefore unlikely to keep faith with their Prince, being of so false and unconstant a Nature, as by a continual relapsing into Seditious practices they did with the same breath demand Pardon, and yet panted to accomplish something worthy of Death. Nor was it possible to reduce them to more Civility (the inhabitants being of such an amphibious education) but by curing the *Boggs* and *Fastnesses*, or building mor Castles and Garrisons than she could spare

ſpare Money or Men from her other occaſions to furniſh: But that which raiſed the greateſt difficulty in relation to an abſolute ſubjugation of this Province, was the power the *Prieſts* exerciſed over the Natives Conſciences, who not able to reſolve themſelves, were implicitly led by their perſwaſions to caſt off the Engliſh yoke and diſtreſs the Queen, who in the Roman dialect was ſtiled *Heretick*, and in whoſe favour no compact could be made, much leſs kept without Mortal Sin in the performer, eſpecially upon the offer of any (though but ſeeming) advantage. Nor was the *defection of Ireland* one of the ſmalleſt inconveniences that reſulted to this Crown from the *Proteſtant Profeſſion*.

23. In this miſerable Nation, that wanted not only wiſdom and vertue to purchaſe her own Freedom, but a competency of patience quietly to ſubmit to the Engliſh Civility, the former mentioned *Earl of Eſſex* buried his fortune. For after his more ſubtil Enemies, prompted by malice and his own deſtructive Ambition, had placed him ſo far off, it proved no hard matter (working upon her Majeſties age and parſimonious humour) to diſtreſs him, for want of coyn and other neceſſary proviſions for ſo expenſive an expedition; which caſt him upon diſadvantagious Treaties with *Tyrone*, the capital Rebel, And might occaſion the private diſcourſe he had with him alone on horſe-back in the middeſt of a River: which hinted to the Queen the firſt cauſe of that fatal ſuſpicion, *He might*

through the assistance of the Irish and English Army (already wholly at his devotion) *attempt some novelty*; a dismal whisper the contrary Faction did hourly inspire her withal: And to give it a deeper tincture of probability, Sr. *Robert Cevil* gained leave of the Queen to advertise *Essex*, first of her being past hope, and after of her Death, stopping in the mean time all ships else, but what came loaded with this fatal intelligence: And to secure her person no less than his own, in case he took the wiser counsel of his friends to land in *Wales* with all the power he could raise, the English militia were put in a posture of defence: of which no use was made; for the *Earls composition* having always participated more of *truth* and *loyalty* to his Soveraign, with zeal to the *Protestant Religion*, than prudence or Reason of State, He, not only contrary to the will of his friends, but beyond the highest hopes of his Enemies, came over attended with some few Gentlemen; and in this naked condition finding the report false, he cast himself habited as a travellor at the feet of his Mistris, whom after he never met (unless since in heaven) being presently *confin'd*; yet to no stricter prison than his *Chamber*, and under no other guard but the obedience he owed to his Soveraigns Commands, who though daily importuned, could not be brought to sign a warrant for any severer Commitment, till after *his passage through the City*, In which he did not only exceed the extent of his own ordinary rathness, But the highest and most extraordinary plots of his Ene-

Enemies. And thus was the *Earl* ſnatched out of the arms of his Miſtris, and torn from the hearts of the people that were his Servants, by the ſubtilty of his Enemies, and in the ſight of both brought to an *untimely death*: It appearing no leſs wonder that Prince & Subject did meet in their affections, than that they ſhould both be ſo quiet ſpectators of his ruine. But as God ſhew'd in his death the weakneſs of the arm of fleſh, ſo not long after he declared as plainly the power of his Juſtice in a ſtrict account he took from thoſe that were the principal agents in it: For after the blow given, the *Queen*, preſaging by a multitude of tears ſhed for him, the great drouth was likely to appear in the eyes of her Subjects, when the hand that ſigned the warrant for it ſhould be cut off, fell into a *deep Melancholy*, whereof ſhe died not long after. And for the Fame that immediatly followed her (if multitudes were not fouly miſtaken) ſhe was more beholding to *her ſucceſſors miſcarriages* in the general opinion, than any popular eſteem attending her to the grave: *her death* being reported to proceed from an occaſion that would have been thought ridiculous in a ordinary Lady, much more in a perſon of her magnitude: But ſuch as take *Princes* for other than Men, ſhew they never ſaw them in true light: who, like the Gods of the Heathen, cannot in their actions or ſpeeches during Life be diſcerned from ordinary Mortals but by the worſhip given them; being ſo remote from owning any real Divinity, As with the Crown they put on greater frailties than they do deveſt: For during the critical minute of the *Queens*

ſtrongeſt affection (which was upon *Eſſex* his return from *Cales*) he had importuned her for ſome *ſignal token* which might aſſure him; that in his abſence (to which his own Genius, no leſs than the reſpect he bare to the promotion of her honour, and obedience to her commands did daily prompt him) *his Enemies* (of whom he had many about the Chair of State) ſhould not through their Malice or Subtilty diſtreſs him, or render him leſs or worſe deſerving in her eſteem: upon this, in a great deal of familiarity, ſhe preſented a *Ring* to him; which after ſhe had by oaths indued with a power of freeing him from any danger or diſtreſs his future miſcarriage, her Anger, or Enemies malice could caſt him into, ſhe gave it him, with a promiſe, that at the firſt *ſight* of it all this and more if poſſible ſhould be granted. After his *commitment to the Tower* he ſent this Jewel to Her Majeſty, by the than *Counteſs of Notingham*, whom Sr. *Robert Cecil* kept from delivering it: This made the *Queen* think her ſelf *ſcorned*, a Treaſon againſt her Honour, And therefore not unlikely to be voted by the pride of ſo great a Lady more Capital than that pretended againſt her Perſon, which power doth rarely ſuffer to ſcape unpuniſhed: beſides he had been tempted through paſſion to ſay, or his enemies to deviſe, That *ſhe now doted, and owned a mind no leſs crooked than her body*; A high blaſphemy againſt ſuch a divine Beauty, as Flatterers, the Idolizers of Princes, had enſhrined her in. And from theſe his misfortunes, led on by the weakneſs.

Jealouſie

Jealouſie and *Age* had bred in her, his Maligners took advantage, ſo as his Head was off before diſcretion, love or pity had leaſure to dictate, *The Ring might be miſcarried and the former relation falſe.* But the Lady of *Notingham* coming to *her death bed*, and finding, by the daily *ſorrow* the *Queen* expreſſed for the loſs of *Eſſex*, her ſelf a principal agent in his deſtruction, could not be at reſt till ſhe had diſcovered all, and humbly implored mercy from God and *forgiveneſs* from her earthly Soveraign: who did not only refuſe to give it, but having ſhook her as ſhe lay in her bed, ſent her accompanied with moſt fearful curſes to a higher Tribunal. Not long after the *Queens weakneſs* did appear mortal, haſtened by the wiſhes of many, that could not in reaſon expect pardon for a fault they found ſhe had ſo ſeverely puniſhed in her ſelf, as to *take comfort in nothing after.* But upon all occaſions of ſigning Pardons would upbraid the movers for them with the haſty anticipation of that brave mans end, not to be expiated in relation to the Nations loſs by any future endeavour, much leſs ſo unſeaſonable an uncharitableneſs to a dying Lady.

24. After *Eſſex* was thus laid by, the total management of State affairs fell to Sr. *Robert Cecil* in right of wiſdom, who free from competition became bold enough to inform the Queen, that *too many years had been already lapſed, and the peoples quiet hazarded by her delay, in not fixing upon one certain Succeſſour: Nothing remaining wanting, but her conceſſion, to free the Nation from a Civil war, in declaring the*

the King of Scots *her lawful Heir, who beſides an immediate right, had the greateſt power at hand to quel the hopes of all contrary pretenders, at that time more than a few; having long been imboldened either through her Majeſties Indulgence or Prudence, an Artifice dangerous for her people and not unpoſſibly now deſtructive to her ſelf, the love of whom was by good Government for forty years, ſo deeply rooted in her Subjects, as it could be buried in nothing but her grave.* Nor did he alone beat her ears with theſe ſounds, no leſs terrible to her age at that day, than they had been formerly ungrateful to her youth: But the generality of all about her; there remaining after *Eſſex* remove, no Faction at Court able to reſcue any from the preſent or future revenge of this man, with whom the moſt did comply, for fear of having their hopes blaſted by this *Northern Sun* that began to riſe proportionable to the declenſion of the Queens health. The truth of which the moſt incredulous may find throughout the whole *Arraignment* of *Cobham*, *Gray*, and *Rawly*, profeſſed *Antagoniſts to Eſſex*, under whoſe ſhelter they might have been protected in relation to their cauſe, though by them imprudently managed. This proves it no great hyperboly to affirm The Queen did not only bury Affection, but her Power in the Tombe of *Eſſex*, who having the Love of the people would execute without fear any Command, which they wanting durſt not undertake: The cauſe *Cecil* thought it more prudence to rely upon the *promiſe of a Prince*

Prince his Father had made Motherleſs, than in the forgiveneſs of a multitude whoſe odium he had by many proceedings contracted; But eſpecially in being inſtrumental in the death of *Eſſex*, and thoſe hopeful young *Gentlemen* that loſt their lives and fortunes with him: Amongſt whom was Sr. *Henry Lee*, for only wiſhing well to the three Earls in the *Tower*, and an other executed in *Smithfield* for writing the news of their Apprehenſion to his Father that was out of *London*. But not to exceed the deſign of this piece which was not to aſperſe any, eſpecially one allied ſo neerly to my *Grand-Mother*, and a Family now rendered Illuſtrious by *two Earldoms* and a number of glorious Matches; I ſhall relate only *his* wiſe *indeavours* to make *James* ſucceed, by whom he was courted with many *Letters*, and larger *promiſes* than, as I have heard, were ever performed, and other propoſals made, amongſt which was a *treaty of peace with Spain*, paſſionately deſired of the *Scotiſh King*, who by this grateful ſervice thought to muzle the mouths of the *Jeſuits*, and to have his offers of *connivance* more ſecretly and ſucceſsfully preſented at *Rome*: and upon the ſame ſcore, *Tyrons pardon* was moved to the Queen, and though at firſt refuſed by her with high diſdain, yet after brought about for want of ſtrength and Counſel to oppoſe it. Nor was an Inquiſition after *the Will of Henry the* 8th omitted, which a *Curſiter* did about that time juſtifie he had inrolled, though than

than not to be found, having before been taken off the File by some as small friends to the *Scotish title* as any other but their own; *Harfords*, *Huntingtons* &c. being than rife in every man's discourse. But to avoid all semblance of triumph over a Right already under the weight of the severest misfortune: I shall conclude with *the most happy condition this unparallel'd Princess left the Kingdom of England in.*

25. It had *no considerable Enemy* besides the *Catholick King*, And his power so maimed by the frequent blows received from her Maritime Militia, that he sought peace in a posture far below the usual pride and Rhodomontado-gallantry of that Nation; apparent in the rich *Donatives* bestowed on all about King *James* who were any way likely to farther or obstruct it. As for the *wild Irish* (a term that age bestowed on the *Rebels*) they were daily found dead in bogs and woods with grass in their mouths, giving no farther trouble to the English Souldiers (at her death not numerous, many having quitted the imployment out of grief for their General) than to burn and spoil the Corn and other provisions of the Natives; far easier done, than they overtaken in their *Fastnesses* and *Bogs*, impassable to our Army. The *French* were by obligation wound up at least to a neutrality, if not in Policy bound to assist us in case the war had gone on with *Spain*: *Henry the fourth's* former *Defection*, though covered with a late formal *Conversion*, having yet not so strongly estated him in the affection of *Rome* as to make him despise the English

Engliſh Aliance or exchange it for any in judgment leſs remote from the *Pope*: or in caſe of his death or forgetfulneſs ſhe had the *Hugonots* to friend, who in all walled Towns prayed for her in publique, owning her for litle leſs than their Princeſs under the title of a *Protectreſs*. Though the *Dutch* were no leſs hers by Intereſt than Gratitude, yet leſt proſperity ſhould in a reſty humour ſtrain theſe cords, her hands were ſtrengthened by *Cautionary Towns*, which did not only bridle them, but abate much of the danger our Merchants were in from thoſe remaining under the Crown of *Spain*; Not ſo much recruited about this time by the reduction of *Oſtend* after three years ſiege, as weakned by the former loſs of *Sluce* in a far leſs conſiderable time. As for *Denmark*, *Sweden* and other Nations that ordinary calculation hath ſeated eaſt of us, ſhe held good correſpondence with them, But lay obnoctious to no other inconveniences from them, Than what ſhe ſuſtained by the Froſt, Snow and tedious weather the vicinity of their icy coaſts uſeth to infeſt more happier Climates withal.

26. Nor can ſhe appear leſs *Lovely*, *wiſe* and *Succesful at home*, to any that is able to fix his eyes upon ſo great a Radiancy as did compaſs the head of this Princeſs, without the dark vale of prejudice, not hitherto drawn from before the face of this nation by the viſible indeavours of many. Compariſons being apt to raiſe no leſs Odium at home than envy abroad. For through the ſeries of her Raign ſhe kept

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Parliaments, the pulse of this Nation, in such a temper as no signs appeared either of *Anarchy* or *Tyrannical Oppression*; her Government having been handed to the people with that sweetness, that it was esteemed of no less advantage to them, than their obedience brought honour to her: under whom the *Crown* remained in such *credit*, as the *Exchequer* was esteemed equal security with the *Exchange*; The Tellers of that Court being as ready to issue out moneys, as those that had Debentures were willing to receive it. And if any contrary practice since brings the truth of this into suspence, let the Proverb *As sure as Check* bayl me from the least suspicion of hyperboly. Her *Lands*, of which she had a vast proportion, were loaden with *Timber* fit for all imployments, lying ready upon occasion either to raise a *Navy*, or *Mony* to pay Souldiers or Mariners. Nor was her *Treasury* quite empty, or the Crown burdened with any considerable *debts*, but what a *Parliament* would without murmur have refunded; No cause of Jealousie remaining in relation to an incroachment upon their liberty or estates, Since she did not extend to the least general prejudice her own unquestioned interest in the perquisites of the Crown; So as her *Parks*, *Forests* and *Chases* were rather a relief than burthen to the Subject, it being than as rare to find a man of quality denied *Venison*,

niſon, as to hear of one (if not too intemperate) puniſhed for ſtealing it. And as the *Juſtice in Oyer* was moderate in his Courts that related only to the preſervation of *Game*, So thoſe in *Weſtminſter-hall* were as careful to diſtribute Equity and Right: or, if in her time ſome *Cuſhions* in *Chancery*, *Chequer*, and *Court of Wards* were taken with the *Moth of corruption*, it was after her Inſpection failed her, for want of a contrary Faction truly to inform, and no propenſity in her Nature to protect ſuch courſes. The ordinary plea uſed after, *of ſelling Dear*, *becauſe they bought ſo*, being voyd the moſt of her days; in which no viſible Bribes for Offices were offered or accepted but what reſulted from favour or deſert. The *Church* in her days lay not disfigured in the filth of profaneneſs, nor was it dawbed by the varniſh of Hypocriſie: *Ceremony* and *Sabbath* (the ordinary pretences for Sedition) being decently not rigidly commanded or obſerved. So as the wall-eyed blanchers at them were followed more out of reproach than approbation; And might have been ſo ſtill, had not the State rendered them more conſiderable by their notice, than really they were: fondly imagining the *hatred* found in ſucceeding *Parliaments* to the *Papiſts* reſulted from a *Puritanical affection*; when it was for a long time in the moſt a fear of ſhaking the *titles of Abbee-Lands*, or a deſire to *free* the *Laity*, in all things temporal and mulctable, out of the

hands

hands of the *Church*; who about the setting of this glorious Planet became something more red and severe, than suted with a Calling no better supported: For though zeal in the *Clergy* may bias men towards religious duties, yet it hath often been found so much to alter the gate of the Rable, as they have quite forsaken the end of all Professions which is Obedience to God and their Governours, And inclined to more uncouth and distructive Opinions, than an open and unsuborned temper in Religion was ever yet found guilty of.

27. Thus I may have in part expiated for the *neglect* if not *malice* observable from the most *Relations* concerning *this Lady*; No less than vindicated my own *Gratitude*, (Whose *Grand-Father* and *Father* did both injoy a quiet, happy and plentiful fortune under her) though in a stile and method far below her merit, As best appears by the *Bonfires* and and loud acclamations used still by the people upon the day of her *Inauguration*: The felicity of which was never since matched, nor have we had yet any cause to hope it will be, especially during my Life, which began under this beloved Princess.

FINIS.

Traditional MEMOIRES ON THE REIGN OF KING JAMES.

London, Printed in the Year, 1673.

TO THE READER.

Since Age, *though ſomething early, hath now overtaken me, anticipated through a number of infirmities and no fewer diſcontents, it is not probable I ſhould go long unſerved by that fatal* Sub-pœna *we all are liable to through our Fathers concupiſcence, No leſs than a reciprocal neceſſity to leave elbow-room for our own, wherefore at preſent compelled by uſual, yet far leſs grateful diverſions, to put a* ſtop *upon the following* Diſcourſe (*which though defective and imperfect may not unpoſſibly be owned for* mine, *by ſuch as are well acquainted with the* Stile) *I take my ſelf obliged out of that tender reſpect all naturally carry towards a fair*

of a tattered State, than for a Physitian *to anatomize a body whose life was through evil and extravagant courses forfeited to the Law: by both which honest men may come to be cured, and Common-wealths better governed. I confess a huge blame is due to such as manage their pens no less impertinently then clowns do their knives and hatchets, with which in lieu of other imployment, or for pure want of discourse, they deface and whittle the sacred graves and unquestioned fame of great persons, upon no solider an account than to fill* Volumes, *though they relate to no more use but what the* Narrative *contains, without pointing either to* Imitation *or* Admonition, *the bulworks of Government; towards the advancement of which nothing can be so precious, as may not in manners and decency be imployed, whether relating to the fame or infamy of dead Princes: The omission of which would not only obstruct all the readers benefit and delight deducible meerly from truth and variety, but remove out of the sphere of Majesty, hope, fear and shame of what may be censured of them after this life (all the reward and punishment the most*

most think themselves capable of) *by which they would be left only to the boundless and unsteady prosecution of chance, or the guidance of their own wills, not unlikely to prove as destructive to them and their Issue, as burdensome to their people; It being* the duty of an Historian, *not only to better the present understanding, but to open a window into the future, by drawing the fairest Landskip, and making the widest and fartherst prospect into times past, his skill will give him leave; In which perhaps more art may be shown in discovering the Ditches, Boggs and Bushes, than the more lofty Mountains and Trees. And now, having so far as is necessary vindicated* Tradition, (*the free School of Princes*) *where* moderation *may be learn'd from those that have fallen under a popular fury, and* patience *inculcated to all Subjects by the dear effects of Civil War, and the example of many that have cast of one Tyranny and fallen into a worse, not seldom their Portion, who hunt after* change, *I shall farther add that no Sound requires a more docile ear, nor an exacter attention, than that proceeding from the Trumpet*

of Fame; the jarrings of which, like other wind instruments, are not so discernable at any distance, as neerer hand; wherefore it Creates admiration in me, to find out what the composition of their humours may be, That impute it not only for a blemish to the Writer, but an undecent intrusion into the readers Harvest, To insert his own judgement, *or the most probable* Opinions *of the* Age *wherein the Scenes of of his story were acted: Yet are heard daily to bewail the want of a more perfect knowledge of the cause why* Sejanus *fell from so great a height of felicity into so deep an abysse of misery, with other like* mutilations *observable in the Records of History, not capable of recovery by posterity; an omission not likely to result from any other neglect, than what the commonness of that knowledge did at the time of their writing breed in the Historians: whose* industry *can as hardly prove so impertinent to future ages (for whose sake chiefly it is imployed) as it may appear perhaps ingrateful to the present, where every one carries a Chronicle in his Mouth, or at least so much as may raise a cloud of contradiction strong enough*

nough for the time to immerge the greateſt and exacteſt inquiſition after the moſt uſeful and exemplary Truth: Since, though the Diſeaſes *in* Bodies Politick, *are ordinarily recorded as to* matter of fact, *yet to ſet down the* manner *of their* cure, *and ſtrengthen it with ſuch a* defenſive plaſter, *as may for the future prevent falling into the like, will not be thought unworthy the labour of the* Hiſtorian, *and without which the* Politician *ſhall be little edified; who cannot pretend to a higher title than that of an Emperick, if he hath not been converſant (as the pretenders by their places to Reaſon of State are moſt commonly found) with other experiments than may be deduced out of the ſtories of* Antiquity, *wherein all Tranſactions (but what paſſed between* Greece *and* Rome) *Had ſtill one end of the Treaty ſupported by a people ſtiled* Barbarous. *Nor is it to be wondered at that the* Ancients *ſhould exceed the* Modern *in repute, though ſhort in goodneſs; ſince the beſt conſtruction is put upon their ambiguities, and their faults mended, and imputed not to the* Author *but* Tranſcribers: *whereas* Contemtoraries *receive all rigor, few vouchſafeing*

to

to mend the errors of the Press; *And if any* Interpretation *be worse than other be's sure to have it; Wherefore in case I dye before this be finished, if* Posterity *finds no Reason to wish it otherwise, I am sure the* Composer *shall not.*

THE

THE

PRINCIPAL HEADS

Of the following

MEMOIRES

On the Reign of

K. *IAMES.*

1. KIng James *the occaſion of his* Son's Ruine.

2. *The* Engliſh *diſguſt the Multitudes of* Scots *following him. How it might have been prevented.*

3. *How he ſtood affected at the News of* Queen Elizabeth's Death, *and his* Proclaiming *by the* Mayor of London. *Who were moſt earneſt for his* Reception, *and who propounded it might be with* Caution.

4. *A*

4. *A* Peace *made with* Spain, ——— *of what consequence to that Crown* ———

5. ——— *By what* Gifts *procured*, *and* ——— *The Kings* Counsel *suborn'd.*

6. *The Lords* Cobham, Gray, *and* Sr. W. Rawly *indicted of* Treasons. *The miserable* death *of the* first.

7. Sr. W. Rawly's History *of the World: His* Guiana *voyage*, *his Trial*, *Condemnation*, *Execution and Character.*

8. Truce *made between* Spain *and the* Dutch; *The inconveniencies thereof to that Republick. King* James's *Writings and Employment.*

9. *His Entry and Exit attended with great* Plagues.

10. *This ill condition the* Papists *lay in* ——— *may seem to have brought forth that Monster* The powder Plot.

11. *Conjectures what it's* Effects *might have been.*

12. Miracles *related of* Garnet ——*his* Execution; *with the rest of the* Conspirators.

13. *The* Discovery, *reported as occasion'd by the* Lord Morley (*Cecil's Artifice.*) ———

24. ———*Came from the* French King. *The* Spanish *fluttering* Congratulation. *King* James's *Pusilanimity and ill practices; their effects.* Rome's *despair of regaining* England.

15. *The causes of the* French *King's Assasination.*

16. *The* Papists *indulg'd*, *and Puritans* (*unadvisedly*) *prosecuted. The* Conference

at

at Hampton-Court; *It's inconveniencies. By what steps the* Puritans *got up, and the* old Clergy *degenerated.*

17. *The* Engliſh *impoveriſhed by Exactions to inrich the* Scots. *King* James *his* Hunting Character. *His demeanour towards* Q. Anne; *Her* Picture.

18. *An Apology for an* Hiſtorian's *taking notice of* minute aud low Circumſtantials.

19. *The King's Obligations to the* Earl of Northumberland *requited with the* Star-chamber. *That Court deſcribed.*

20. *The* Pauls-walking News-mongers —— *report* Northumberland (*who brought in King* James) *too* (*fatally*) *intimate with* P. Henry. Forteſcue's Rewards, *firſt for* Oppoſing *the King's Admiſſion* (*without Caution*) *and after for* Entertaining *him.*

21. *The* Puritans *denied a ſecond* Conference.

22. *A* Libel *on the* Scots —— *Explained.*

23. —— *A Character of* Philip Earl of Mongomery; *How patiently he took his* Switching *by* Ramſey *at* Croydon (*which otherwiſe had produced a National Quarrel*) *How the* King *repaired* Philip's *loſt honour* (*An Animadverſion upon* Maſques) ——

24. —— *His gallant Mother* the Counteſs of Pembrok's *reſentment. Her* Picture *and* Epitaph.

25. *The King's Fears make him baniſh* Ramſey. *His* debauching *the Engliſh.* Pembrok's *Wives deſcent.*

26. Sackvil *the only Engliſh-man at* Croydon *that went on the* Scots *ſide, and why.*

27. Maxwel

27. Maxwel *lugg's* Hawly; *which had like to have engaged the* Greys Inne *Gentlemen in a Quarrel,*——*taken up by* Bacon; *They entertain the King with a* Masque, *and He them with a* Banquet: *Their Rudeness.*

28. Murry *kills a* Sergeant; and the *Lord* Zankor, *the Fencer* Turner: *Their* Sentence.

29. *Treasurer* Cecil's *Artifice to stop* the King's profuseness: *His Enmity to the* Earl of Essex, *and enclosure of* Hatfield Chase, &c. *contract him the peoples* Hatred; *which vented in* Libels *after his* death; *The manner of it. His* Character. Baronets *his Project.* Crown-Timber (*wastfully*) *sold.*

30. *The Mischiefs wrought to this Nation by some of the worst of the* Scotish Lords, *as* Roxborow, Fenton, Carlisle, Dunbar, Kelly, Somerset; *The rise of the four last.*

31. *The King's design for the* Union *eagerly caried on,—proved abortive in the* Parliament.—

32. ——*Attempted again in the* Star-Chamber *by the* Lawyers *upon the account of* Prerogative, ——*unsuccessfully.*

33. Objections *made in* Parliament *against it.*

34. Knight-hood *made cheap.*——

35. *The occasion of* Baronets——*to the ruine of many Families.*

36. *Other* Honours *sold*——*partially.*

37. *The English down on* P. Henry, ——*how justly, examined.*

38. *His* Virtues *draw* Love *from the People, and thus raises* (*fatal*) Jealousie *in the King. The unhappy condition of Princes. His* Death.

39. King

39. King James *ill-attended, and why.* Carliſle's *Exceſs*; Ante-Suppers —*his invention.* *The King's* Favorites *cenſured.*—

40. *How the* E. of Holland *loſt that Place.*

41. Gowry's *Conſpiracy, and the* Mock-Holy-day *for it.*

42. *Treaſurer* Buckhurſt's *remarkable* death: *His* Character.

43. *The* L. Elizabeth's Marriage *with the* Palſgrave——*general liked*: *Why the K. conſented to ſo* poor *a Match. Her* Vertues *and* Misfortunes.

44. *Conjectures about the* Palſgrave's *affairs.*

45. Prince Henry's *encouraging his Attempts.*

46. *The Battail of* Prague *loſt through his Covetouſneſs.*

47. Weſton *farthers the* Elector *and his* Lady's *eſcape to the* Hague.

48. *Many* Papiſts *true to their truſt: Of* Count Mansfield. *The* Cloſe *of the firſt Part.*

Some

Some Traditional

MEMORIALS

On the Reign of

KING *IAMES.*

1. THE *Misfortunes* of King *Charles*, Son to King *James*, with the uncouth, dismal and unexpressible calamities that happened thereupon, appear yet so great a Sacrifice in the Opinions of all interested by loss, or suborned by that natural propensity inherent in the most to expunge or paliate the Lapses of unhappy Princes (whose indulgence is not seldom so diffusive as to expiate for the faults of those standing in a far remoter relation than that of a Father) that they have hitherto stopped my Pen from making any farther progress this way; Till, led on by a zeal to

truth, and illuminated from the brighter Judgements of others, I found not only the Imprudent *Commissions*, but voluntary *Omissions* of King *James* so much instrumental in the promotion of our present evils; as it may justly be said, He, like *Adam*, by bringing the Crown into so great a Necessity through a profuse prodigality, became the original of his Son's *fall*: who was in a manner compel'd to stretch out his hands towards such gatherings and *Taxes*, as are contrary to Law: by which he fell from the *Paradise* of a Prince, to wit, The *hearts* of his people.

2. For though the best Polititians extant might miscarry in their calculation of a *Civil war* immediately to follow upon the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, in vindication of the number of *Titles* and Opinions then current: Yet the *beggerly rable* attending his Majesty not only at his first coming out of *Scotland*, but through his whole Reign (like a fitful Spring) found still crossing the River of *Tweed* did so far justify the former conjecture, as it was only thought mistaken in relation to time. The dreadful Symptoms of that war presaged still impending *England*, and the nearer approach manifested in the discontent that appeared in all places and amongst every Society, to the very Court it self, in whose opinion no less than the generality, his too palpable *partiality towards his Country-men* rendered him no higher place than of a *King-in-law*, not a Prince of any Natural affections to the people of this Nation. So as his more wise and innocent

nocent Succeſſour was caſt upon this unhappy choice, either to hazard the fidelity of his *Scotch* Subjects, by Obſtructing this bounty; or that of the *Engliſh*, at whoſe coſt alone it could be continued. All which might eaſily have been at firſt prevented (and perhaps no leſs to the King's advantage than the peoples) had the ſame caution the *Parliament* exacted from *Philip* of *Spain*, been taken from *James* of *Scotland*; a Nation no leſs diſtant from the Engliſh in Nature and affection.

3. In the proſecution of which, or any thing elſe relating to this King, I ſhall avoid all unneceſſary *ſeverity*, and obſerve more duty and reſpect, than may poſſibly be thought due, by poſterity, to the Perſon of a Prince, that (after ſo exact a pattern as Queen *Elizabeth* left him) did, by debauching *Parliaments* and breaking his word, ſo far irritate, no leſs than impoveriſh the Subject, as his Son was forced to give conceſſion to one rendered indiſſolvable but by their own will: a miſchief could never have befallen *England*, had *King James* left them in the ſame temper he found them at the *death* of the *Queen*. The news of which was brought him firſt (as I have heard) by *Cary*, after Lord *Lepington*, and ſince Earl of *Munmouth*: who not able to ſatisfy ſuch a concourſe of doubts and queſtions, as far more reſolute natures than his do ally muſter up on leſs occaſions, The King ſtood as in a maze, being more affected through the fear of Oppoſition, than pleaſed with the preſent report; Till by a lamer Poſt

he was advertiſed of his being joyfully *Proclaimed* in *London* by the *Lord Mayor* and *Aldermen*, And of the unqueſtioned reception his Title in all places met with; No leſs then that the Hopes of ſome, and Fears of the Major part, aſſiſted by the prudent carriage of the *Treaſurer*, and ranting proteſtations of the *Earl of Northumberland* (that in all places vapoured he would bring him in by the ſword) had ſtopped their Mouths that deſired (in regard of the known feud between the Nations) he might be obliged to *Articles*: And amongſt theſe noble and publique Spirits was Sr. *John Forteſcue*, Sr. *Walter Rawly*, the *Lord Cobham &c.* All frowned upon after by the King, who had yet the luck to live ſo long as to change his Opinion and (when he found he neither durſt do it himſelf, nor conſent to it in Parliament) to wiſh his Countrymens numbers had been limited, and not ſuffered like locuſts to devour this Kingdom; from whence they became ſo rich and inſolent, as nothing with any moderation could either be given or denied them; The reſult of an Omiſſion no blood could expiate, but that of the greateſt victim ever ſacrificed ſince Chriſt in ſo ignoble a way.

4. He held his thoughts ſo intent upon *eaſe* and *Pleaſure*, That to avoyd all interruption likely to impede any part of the felicity he had poſſeſſed his Imagination with from the *union* of theſe Crowns, And to fit an example for his Neighbours imitation, whom he deſired to bring into the like reſolution; He caſt himſelf as it were blind-fold into *a Peace with Spain*,

Spain, far more deſtructive to *England* than a war: For it hath not only found that Prince an Opportunity to recover his ſtrength (much abated by the Queens moſt happy ſucceſſes at Sea) But gave him a fair advantage to eſtabliſh himſelf in the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and quiet the diſtempers of his own people, that were, ever ſince the expulſion of the *Moors* (to whom a Major part of the Subjects, together with their language is undoubtedly allied) much perplexed at the cruelty of the *Inquiſition*, and ſo upon all opportunities ready to call them back from the *Barbary* ſhore: Which could not have been ſo happily accompliſhed, but during ſo ſtill a peace as the new reconciliation of the *French King* with the *Pope*, and puſillanimous temper of King *James* did at that preſent afford him, & without which it had not been uneaſie for a far weaker neighbour to have tormented him in the bowels of his own eſtate, by the leaſt fomentation they could have uſed.

5. And as this *Peace* was of infinite conſequence to the *Spaniard*, ſo he ſpared for no *coſt to procure it*: And to prevent the inſerting any Article that might obſtruct his recourſe to or from the *Indies* (the Magazine of ſtrife) either on this ſide or beyond the *Line* (Thought by the Engliſh Commiſſioners not included, however the contrary was after pretended, and no farther diſputed by K. *James* than with patience and a quiet ſubmiſſion of his Subjects to their ſenſe, not rarely puniſhing ſuch as tranſgreſt, at their coming home) he preſented all, both *Scotiſh* and *Engliſh* with *Gifts*, And thoſe

no ſmall ones, for by that the *Earl of Northampton*, brother to *Suffolk*, had, he was alone able to raiſe and finiſh the goodly Pile he built in the *Strand*, which yet remains a Monument of his &c. Nor are there a few others no leſs brave houſes freſh in my memory, that had their foundations if not their walls and roofs plaſtered with the ſame Morter; Though out of my will to name, who had rather be condemned by poſterity that are not likely to hurt me for this Modeſty, than expoſe my ſelf to the mercy of the age I have the fortune to live in, by making my pen over-familiar with my thoughts; Since after times may better ſpare the knowledge of many things, than we reveal them; only this I ſhall add as no improbable conjecture made by many in thoſe days. That *his Catholick Majeſty* was ſo frighted by the apprehenſion of a poſſibility that *our King*, according to the nature no leſs than the obligation of his *Country*, might fall into a conjunction with *France*, That he would ſcarce at that time have denied him any thing, to the half of his *Indies*. And from hence all Princes may calculate the vaſt difference that lies between a Counſel ſuborned and one free from corruption.

6. At his aſſumption to the Throne the *Lord Gray*, *Lord Cobham* and Sr. *Walter Rawly* (profeſſed Enemies to the late *Earl of Eſſex*, and no weak inſtruments in his deſtruction) fell into a *Treaſon* of a like depth with his; and ſo improbable to hurt others or benefit themſelves, That if ever folly was capable

of

of the title, or pity due to Innocence, theirs might claim ſo large ſhare, As not poſſible to be too ſeverely condemned, or ſlightly enough puniſhed. Yet as ſhallow as it was, the *Lord Gray* could never wade through it, but died in the Tower, Though *Cobham* did, but to ſuch a liberty as only afforded him the choyce of a place to ſtarve in, all his land being formerly confiſcate and begg'd; So as my ſelf heard *William Earl of Pembroke* relate with much regret towards him (though in his life his oppoſer, in exaſperating the old Queen againſt him in relation to a Juvenile lapſe, for which he was by her committed to the *Fleet*) That he died in a room aſcended by a ladder, at a poor womans houſe in the *Minories*, formerly his Landereſs, rather of hunger, than any more Natural diſeaſe. Thus miſerable was his Fate; in meeting with a Prince ſo inconſiderately profuſe to Strangers, that he forgot the owner, not leaving him wherewithal to buy bread; an impiety not found amongſt Infidels, who ever deemed it leſs injuſtice to take away life, than the means to maintain it, Which may one day inſpire a *Parliament* with ſo much wiſdom, as to abate the rigor of the Law in relation to the Poſterity of Criminals, who are in this particular dealt withal contrary to the decree of God and Nature, who ſaith *the perſon offending ſhall only dye*, and no puniſhment deſcend to the innocent Children: found the occaſion of much miſchief, eſpecially to men of honour and eſtates, by affording a wide and legal pretence

for malice and Tyranny to expatiate in; Manifested in that prodigious *Parliament*; and might have been easily redressed, had not their frequent Purgations left them no other humor but what related to continuance and self interest; contrary to the nature of that Court, which ought not to be perpetual; who in the Decollation of Monarchy, cut off all hope of bettering the miserable condition of the English Subject.

7. As for *Rawly* none ever imploy'd Inlargment worse, that knew so well how to advantage himself and his Country in Imprisonment: For during his teadious Lying in the Tower (under the jealousie rather then Justice of *King James*, who did so far participate of the humour of a pusilanimous Prince, as to pardon any sooner than those injured by himself) He was delivered of that Minerva, *the History of the old world*: which Travel of his Brain proved more successful, than that of his Body, to discover a New one, in that unhappy Voyage to *Guina*, in which his Son with a number of other Gentlemen were lost and undone, And he exposed to the Spanish Cruelty, who about that time begun to dazle the weaker eyes of King *James* with the contemplation of a *Match*, between our Prince and that Kings Sister, to whom Sr. *Walter* had rendered himself suspected, no less than he had formerly disobliged the *Treasurer Cecil*, by obstructing, to the farthest extent of his power, a Peace, through his mediation propounded in the very shutting in of *Q. Elizabeth's* days: which was not only the cause of his Arraignment long before and

carried

carried on ſo fiercely by *Atourney Cook* and other dependers on the Treaſurer, at *Winchester*, But of the order upon this occaſion ſent, though long after, to *Gondamor* the Spaniſh Agent, vigorouſly to demand the head of *Rawly* for an aſſault made by him on his Maſters *Indies*: A Head of more weight to our Court (eſpecially in that dearth of wiſdom then raging) than the *Infanta* could be, Notwithſtanding the moſt general no leſs than the leaſt ſuſpected reports made her alone owner, (though ſmall in Stature) of the greateſt Beauty, Virtue, Gallantry and Prudence that were at that day extant in woman kind. But as the fooliſh Idolaters were wont to Sacrifice the choyceſt of their Children to the Devil, the common enemy of Humanity; ſo our King gave up this incomparable jewel to the will of this Monſter in Ambition, under the pretence of a ſuperannuated Tranſgreſſion; Contrary to the opinion of the moſt honeſt ſort of Gown-men, who maintained that his Majeſties Pardon lay incluſively in the Commiſſion he gave him upon his ſetting out to ſea: It being incongruous, that he, who remained under the notion of one *Dead in Law*, ſhould as a General diſpoſe of the lives of others, not being himſelf Maſter of his own: But the Spaniſh Faction then abſolute at Court, and ſole managers of the Kings power, no leſs than his Juſtice, did ſo far tender *his Catholick Majeſties* full ſatisfaction in the procuring his death, the only man of note left alive that had helped to beat them in the year 1588. that no abſurdity lying in the way of his pro-

profecution could deter them from making uſe of his former Condemnation: Remembring withal how far his wit had puzled them at *Wincheſter*, That though his Judges were willing enough to deſtroy him there, yet they did rather tire him out of his Life, by the bawling of the Kings Counſel on one ſide, and the Benches inſiſting upon a confeſſion extorted from the *Lord Cobham* out of fear, (who being in the ſame Condemnation could but make a circumſtance, no creature elſe averring it) than convince him: ſome of his Jury being after he was Caſt, ſo far touched in Conſcience, as to demand of him Pardon on their Knees; which made it the leſs probable they ſhould be able to impanel one ſo wicked as would do it then. Beſides *no peace beyond the Line* was a belief ſo riveted in the Opinions of all, as he could not have been Indicted a new, without the Kings producing of the original Articles, by which his accuſers would have been convinced of malice, or his Prince of folly. He was *Captain of the Guard to Queen Elizabeth*, *Warden of the cinque Ports*, *firſt diſcoverer of* that new Plantation which in honour of his Miſtris he named *Virginia*. But above all of ſo incomparable a dexterity in his Judgement, as the Treaſurer, (who had already, by an univerſal compliance with the King and his Countrymen, purchaſed the Monopoly of his favour) grew jealous of his excellent parts, leſt he ſhould ſupplant him. And this was the firſt cauſe of his bringing to that Trial, from whence *Gondamor* and our Ef-

Eſpaniolized Engliſh took this laſt advantage to cut off his head: which *Edward Wimark* the *Pauls-walker* wiſhed upon Sr. *Robert Nantons* Shoulders, one of the Secretaries of State, who conſcious of the need he had of ſuch good parts, convented him for it, but without any better ſucceſs than making himſelf ridiculous; yet had he or his maſter owned ſo much underſtanding as witty *Wimark* meant that made the wiſh, we ſhould not have found ſuch cauſe to complain now of his *Sons evil Counſel*; left him by diſcent from *King James*, That gave this fatal blow, not poſſibly then to be ſeconded by ſuch another, Made ſo much the heavier becauſe procured at the ſute of an Enemy.

His death was by him managed with ſo high and religious a reſolution, as if a Roman had acted a Chriſtian, or rather a Chriſtian a Roman: So as amongſt the number that contributed to the deſtruction of the *Earl of Eſſex*, none but he died pityed. Which *King James* finding, he according to the Mode of weak and ill-conſulted Princes, ſet forth in print a *Declaration*, which according to the ordinary ſucceſs of ſuch Apologies, rendered the condition of that proceeding worſe in the worlds opinion: It begins thus,

Though I take my ſelf bound to give no other account of my actions but to God; yet &c.

8. By his Majeſties example, no leſs than perſwaſions, the States of the *United Provinces* (not

(not knowing to which ſide this new Prince would propend) were induced to a *Truce with Spain* for twelve years. Who before, and ſince moſt ſucceſsfully reſiſted that King in defence of *Liberty*; A felicity due to man by birthright, and uncapable of forfeiture but to the wrath of God, that doth not ſeldom convert it into Tyranny, after a general declenſion into licenſe and oppreſſion, Through which Senators grow ſo rich as they are tempted to Ambition: Though few beſides them have had the dexterity to gain their *Freedom*, or skill to keep it when fortune did fairly preſent them with it; yet ordinarily exerciſed in all Corporations: Men in Government reſembling Horſes, that are far leſs ranting, and eaſier brought to an even temper, being linck'd together in a Teem, than ſingle in a Chariot, as over tickled with the Trapings of pride and honour: Therefore more unanimous in war than peace; unlikely then, as now, to produce to the *Netherlands* any greater advantage than a confeſſion of a *Right*, theirs before in poſſeſſion, By treating them in an equal degree of honour with other Princes and Free ſtates. For in this Truce was hatched the *Conſpiracy of Barnavelt*, the *Faction of the Arminians*, and ſo many other evil humours contracted, as have given them ever ſince a full imployment to correct and evaporate. The contexture of this kind of Government being ſo delicate and mathematical, That, as it is leaſt capable of error, ſo if one chance to creep in (as poſſibly may by *too long indulging of a Family*) it doth hazard,

if

if not unravel the whole web. To conclude, they are not in my experience or reading parallel'd, by any people beſides themſelves in this, To become rich by a defenſive war: The *Swiſs*, though owners of brave actions, are yet ſo far their Punies in the learning of trade, That whilſt the one out of plenty is able to hire aſſiſtance of their Neighbours, The other out of meer neceſſity are become the Cudgels with which the reſt of the world do upon all occaſions beat one another. All which conſidered might raiſe an Uſe of Inſtruction to *England*, not unfurniſhed with as good Mariners, No leſs than one of Example to *Venice*: who might, if ſhe looked within and without, find people enough to make them, were they cured of the Trembling of the heart, a diſeaſe perhaps incident to all *Republicks* not founded in Arms. But in a venerable reverence to the Ghoſts of *Lipſius*, Sr. *Henry Savil*, *Strada* and other bold Authors, That arraign *Tacitus* for his Digreſſions no leſs than Stile; who have no doubt raiſed ſo numerous an iſſue to their judgments as may hereafter ſacrifice theſe leaves to a like Cenſure; I ſhall return to K. *James*, who had far worſe *Books* (ſaid, and no doubt truly, to be of his writing!) as intemperatly on the other ſide praiſed by flatterers; which elated his imagination to ſo high an eſteem of his Wiſdom, that he out of an impertinent emulation was thought to affect Sr. *Walter Rawly* the leſs becauſe of the great repute that follow'd him for his excellent Pen: ſo as after much ſcorn caſt upon

upon it, being modeſtly demanded what fault he found, he anſwered as one ſurpriſed *that he ſpake irreverently of King Henry the eighth:* which could not be the natural cauſe, though firſt in his *apprehenſion*, ſince none ever exclaimed more againſt that Prince, than uſually he did. But however, this is very notorious that he dedicated rainy whether to his Standiſh, and fair to his Hounds, or any thing elſe that owned the voyce of pleaſure; which was through the whole ſeries of his Government more acceptable, than any profit or conveniency might accrue to his people.

9. At his firſt coming he was long detained from *Weſtminſter* by a *Plague*, looked upon as the greateſt, till exceeded in that which broke out after his death; Taken by the ill boding Engliſh for a preſage of worſe days than they had already ſeen: the good Government of *Queen Elizabeth* not being in probability likely to bear the charges (without falling into ſome deſtructive Commotion) of two ſuch expenſive Princes in Succeſſion, without having one more popular to intervene.

10. After the *Peace*, of too neat concernment to his *Catholick Majeſty* to afford him leaſure to imagine, much leſs to inſert ſo rugged an Article as the performance of any *Promiſe* our King had made before his reception, in caſe the *Papiſts* did not oppoſe, (which I have found regiſtered by many, and ſo high as amounted to a *Toleration* at leaſt) he obſerved in prudence it could not be conceded by this new King, however he ſtood affected in his deſires,

deſires, having ſo many of his Subjects Proteſtants, for one of the Roman Profeſſion: And being beſides no more zealous than other Princes, that make uſe of Religion only for a fence to immure their Perſons and Prerogative, But eſteem it a meer accident where Reaſon of State drives on a bargain without it; He left the poor *Catholicks* in the wide field of the *Scotiſh* Cruelty, who did daily beg, ſell or exchange ſuch as preferred conſcience before unreaſonable Compoſitions, remaining obſtinate in their Recuſancy which, in this exceſſive extremity ſome either were ſo far indulged by others, or themſelvs, as to take their eſtates off from this Scotch hook, did about this time go to Church. Whilſt *K. James* ſtood ſo amazed at his preſent felicity, that the fleecing his ſubjects did ſeem to concern him no more, than it doth the love-ſick Bridegroom to loſe all his Gloves, Ribbands, Garters and Poynts to the very ſingle one that keeps all from &c. For though the frequent Petitions of theſe plundered people, no leſs than the recommendations of Miniſters of foreign States might for the preſent incline his heart (which in its own nature was not cruel) to commiſeration: yet upon a lively repreſentation of that northern *Puppet play* whoſe Scenes they lay in the Church of *Rome*, pretending the leaſt candor uſed to theſe *Canaanites* would call his Mothers ſins to a new remembrance, and ſo conjure up the ſpirit of Rebellion, againſt which there can be no apter Sacrifice than the retainers to that Community, which beautifies the veſtries of *Scotland*, &c.

in

in the ſhape of a Beaſt &c. which once heard interpreted by a curtailed Divine, he either durſt not or would not abate this rigor, But rather increaſed their deſpair by daily threats of worſe, and Invectives owned as written by himſelf, which though ſome might conſider as too Theatrical to be real, yet others not ſo well verſ'd in his Majeſties Royal craft, And having poſſibly beſides been ſwallowed by one of theſe Harpies, that like Cormorants will retain the prey 'till their throats be cut, may be excuſed in part, if finding their hopes deluded they fell into diſpair, eſpecially hearing the unceſſant cry made by the *Commons* in the houſe of *Parliament* for a freſh ſupply of *Laws* againſt Recuſants, and all that lay but under the leaſt notion of a Popiſh affection; which was a latitude ſome extended as far as *Prelacy*, others bounded it very little on this ſide *Anabaptiſm*: Though they ſaw them daily thrown into a den of Scotchmen, which the Court did already ſo naturally reſemble, as nothing made penal by Law either in Church or Common-Weal, but was by the King granted to his Country-men and by them exacted to the uttermoſt farthing. Many in the mean time venting their ſpleen (capable of better imployment) in Libels and Songs, of one of which I remember two lines at this time, and may do more hereafter.

In Scotland he was born and bred,
And though a Beggar muſt be fed.

This

This made the *Papists* look about them, not a little terrified to see the King turn his *Quill* (the sharpest weapon he handled throughout his whole Reign) against the *Pope*. And though they had fairer Cards at that time to shew for their Opinions (by reason of the Bishops and more politick Clergy, who began now to find no head so likely to support them, as one naturally issuing out of their own body, being in this single condition likely no longer to subsist, than found necessary to the temporal power) than they were ever able to draw during the days of the Queen: Yet they wanted patience to attend their better fortune, which no time since the dissolution of the *Abbies* (King *James* holding *No Bishop no King*, for as real an Article in the Mystery of *Monarchy*, as they did *No Ceremony no Bishop*, in that of the *Hierarchy*) was more likely to have brought about, had they not manifested such foul play, as an indeavour *to blow up the* Houses of *Parliament*; a Treason of so bloudy an intendment, that it almost appears a fiction to us that saw it, though two of the *heads* of the Conspirators *Catesby* and *Percy* (if not since removed, and others set in their places, as I have been told) remain still on the *House of Lords* to witness it; some Priests having disavowed any such thing in Print beyond Sea, where I my self was asked the same Question: And such as want impudence to deny it, do yet only acknowledge it for the single attempt of some few discontented spirits, rendered desperate through the heavy affliction they then

lay under: all their hopes being loſt in the neglects of the Kings of *Spain* and *England*. The firſt remaining as careleſs of his Faith, as the other did of the performance of his word; though *Garnet* their Arch-Prieſt was one, and about that time Prayers and Faſts appointed to be uſed by thoſe Romiſhly affected throughout this whole Realm.

11. I never met two of a like conceit, concerning any *effect* or *extent* this powder might have reached, had it not failed of ſucceſs: ſince one did confine it (who pretended to have been aſſiſting at the ſpringing of divers Mines) to the Circle it lay in, and no farther than to the ſhaking of the contiguous buildings: whereas the Judgments of others no leſs experienced, delivered at leaſt the whole Iſle to the fury of it: But the *Lord Wilmot* did in my mind offer the moſt probable conjecture (who had ſeen a like quantity of Powder fired upon a Wharff in *Dublin*) that by reaſon of the weight and ſtraightneſs of the Vault which would have given it all leiſure to kindle, it could not but have wrought dire effects upon the City it ſelf: ſince the other did no leſs, though it had no narrower Arch to reſtrain it than that of Heaven. This I am ſure of, that it had overwhelmed Church and State; a Conſpiracy dragged out of Hell, nay worſe than the Devil himſelf, for he ſeeks to preſerve his own; whereas this paſſed by few of the ſame Profeſſion, many known *Papiſts* then ſitting in the *Houſe of Lords*, beſides other private ones, that were mingled amongſt the *Commons*. Happy

for

for us that may ſafely gueſs at the conſequence, and are by ſpecial mercy of Almighty God removed from the danger: It having been very unlikely for our *Family* to eſcape, ſince at that very time my *Father* maintained Mr. *Thomas Brightman* under his roof. Yet let me juſtifie the charity of theſe Underminers ſo far, as to ſay they only intended in their calculation the deſtruction of the *Houſe of Lords*; unleſs Report was found more charitable than they.

12. Here, as in moſt Conſpiracies of like compoſition, the former mentioned *Prieſt* was a principal Ingredient; of whom after his death they reported Wonders, as that the perfect effigies of his Face remained in the Straw uſed to dry up the blood on the Scaffold; but all the miracle I could obſerve was the Prodigiouſneſs of the attempt, who have had ſome of thoſe Straws in my hands, yet could obſerve no more than by impoſing upon my Imagination (firſt prompted through others report) I found, as may be in all Straws elſe, the reſemblance of a Beard, and ſomething Fanſie was at that time apt to caſt into the mold of a Face, being formerly ſuborned by the general Opinion: Yet theſe no doubt are ſold and paſs at this day for *Reliques*, as I know they did 20 years after, and he for a holy Saint. From whence we may judge at the Original, no leſs than validity of divers at this day current amongſt us; ſuch falſe coin being in ſome judgments abſolved from all tincture of corruption due to deceit, by the profit and reverence they procure to

commerce: as if God had ſo poorly provided for his honour as to want the weak ſupporters of Falſhood and Credulity; ſince what he could ſay in excuſe of Treaſon (which he profeſſed always to abhorr) was, that it came to his knowledge under the ſeal of Confeſſion. He was executed at the Weſt Gate of Saint *Pauls*, having the favour only to hang till he was dead; the reſt being uſed too cruelly, as may be thought by all that remove their eyes never ſo little from the merit of the Cauſe.

13. The *Diſcovery* appeared no leſs admirable than the Treaſon, to ſuch as took the printed Report for Authentick, *That a Letter was ſent to* the Lord Morley, *and from him to his Majeſty, &c.* a neat device of the *Treaſurer's* to fetch him in, to whoſe eſtate or perſon, if not both, he had a quarrel. He being very plentiful in ſuch Plots, writing a Book a little after, wherein to magnifie his zeal to Religion and the State, he publiſhed a *Libel* where they threaten to kill him, with a well penned *Anſwer*; both thought to ſmell of the ſame Ink. All which he did to recover the love of the People, forfeited by the hate he expreſſed to their Darling *Eſſex*, and the deſire he had to render Juſtice and Prerogative Arbitrary. But he that follows this track too far may poſſibly fall into the ſnare of Power.

14. I never found any ſignal favour or reſpect given from the Court to the Lord *Morley*, which renders their conjecture the more probable who did report as from the *French*

French Ambassadour then resident, that the first intimation of the *Powder Treason* came from his *Master*, who received it from the *Jesuites* of his Faction, to the end he might share in our ruines; the Kingdom of *England* being in the *Pope*'s own Judgment too great an addition to that of *Spain*, where though it was first coined (some say during the days of Queen *Elizabeth*) yet the Priests that undertook the promoting it, sought to render it the most beneficial they could to their respective Patrons. And here I cannot omit that after this happy Discovery, his *Catholique Majesty* sent an Agent on purpose to *congratulate King James* his great preservation. A flattery so palpable, as the *Pope* could not refrain laughing in the face of *Cardinal D' Ossat* when he first told it him; nor he forbear to inform his King of it, as may be found in his printed Letters: It being notorious that at K. *James* his first assumption to the Throne of *England*, none sought his destruction more cordially than the *Spaniard*; 'till a continued tract of Experience had fully acquainted him with his temper, and the impossibility of perswading him to form any League with *France* or other Christian Prince against him. Nor was our King himself backward in fomenting this Innocent Opinion amongst his Neighbours, but did as soon as he could possibly by neglecting the Royal Ships, and casting contempt upon all formerly in Military Imployment (the wings, nails, and teeth of the Nation) testifie to the World he meant to spoil no people

of their Honour, Lands, Felicity, Goods, or Laws, but thoſe all Princes celebrated for wiſdom and gallantry think themſelves tied in nature to preſerve; by which he entailed miſery upon his ſucceſſion, and without the more mercy of God eternal ſlavery to *&c.* For by penning up the Engliſh Valour, and opening the fountains of honour, with a ſucceſſion of neglect caſt upon the *Nobility* and *Commons* in their Repreſentatives, by denying them their reaſonable demands, or deluding them after his Royal aſſent given, by going contrary to what was enacted; theſe practices put him upon ſuch low ſhifts, that he at laſt having rendred himſelf uncapable of truſt, did deſcend to have the mony given by the *Parliament*, depoſited in the hands of Commiſſioners; out of which he did notwithſtanding after force it, according as his impertinent expences demanded ſupplies. Nor was he more ſteady in his compacts with foreign Princes, who in a ſmall time became ſo well acquainted, with his Complexion, that his promiſe did not incite them either to hope or fear, or raiſe in any of them the Paſſions of Love or Hatred. And this is one of the Reaſons then given, why *the moſt Chriſtian King* did ſo far indulge his preſervation as to advertiſe him of the former Conſpiracy, leſt he ſhould exchange *Herb John* for *Coloquintida*. Another, but in my opinion (though ſtrongly preſt by his Miniſters) a very weak one (for what obligation can reſtrain a Prince that ſees an advantage before him) was the favours received from hence during the

League:

League: But the moſt probable was the advantage *Spain* was likely to make of it, *firſt*, by reaſon he had an Army then ready in *Flanders* to land in the huge miſt ſo black a cloud muſt needs have cauſed over the Nation. Nor can *his Holineſs* himſelf look upon our ruine with any affection; *England* being of too great a conſequence to fall under any other juriſdiction ſave her own, but to ſuch an exceſs as may hazard his obedience: Many things being now ſuffered in relation to the fear of others, which would not in a full plenitude of power be conceded out of Love; beſides experience hath ſufficiently informed the *Conſiſtory*, that Church-lands are not only unravelled, but ſo weaved into the eſtates of the Laity, as not to be capable of ſeparation by any Converſion or other heat than ſuch a zeal as firſt refunded them out of the hearts of Converts, and ſtamped upon them an impreſs of Merit; not likely to be kindled amidſt ſuch knowledge as Printing hath inſpired *Europe* withal, and by which ſo ſtrict a watch is kept over what is dubious, as nothing can quietly paſs without ſuch a warrant from Reaſon, as the Clergy have in no Age been yet able to produce. Wherefore their hopes are in a manner buried as to the profits of *England*, and by conſequence chilled from any vigorous proſecution farther than concerns *his Holineſſes* honour, in ſeeming to deſire the preſervation of thoſe *Catholicks* that remain: And this did not only facilitate the entrance of King *James*, but might occaſion the diſcovery of the Plot;

which done to ſome Prince had drawn death or baniſhment upon them all; for at the bottom or top, either by Contribution or Prayers, the Lawyers would not have ſtuck to find them all guilty: ſo as he then wanted not perſwaſions to baniſh them. But his complection being more flegm than choler, He only ſuffered the *Parliament* to ſharpen Laws againſt them, that they might be the more obliged to him for ſtopping their execution; it being the general opinion of the Court, that after this he was more tender of their preſervations, they attaining by fear what no pity nor policy could procure.

15. To conclude, whoſoever revealed this Conſpiracy, it coſt, as I have often been told, the *King of France* his Life, not only by queſtioning the truth of his Converſion, but did raiſe ſo high a ſuſpicion of the immenſe Treaſure and mighty Army he had with no leſs induſtry than ſecreſie gotten together (not one living owning to this day the knowledge of his deſign) in the hearts of *Spain* and *Rome*, as they procured his death: his freedom to the K. of *England* rendring this ſilence the more ſuſpected.

16. Now to take off the Subjects eyes from obſerving the Indulgency uſed by K. *James* in behalf of the *Papiſts*, whom though he had no cauſe to love, he found reaſon enough to fear; a Quarrel was revived, (now almoſt aſleep, becauſe it had long eſcaped Perſecution, the Bellows of Schiſm) with a People ſtiled *Puritans*, who meeting no nearer a definition than the name, all the conſcientious

ſcientious men in the Nation ſhared the contempt. Since under that general term were comprehended not only thoſe brain ſick fools as did oppoſe the Diſcipline and Ceremonies of the Church and made Religion an Umbrella to Impiety, but ſuch as out of meer honeſty refrained the Vices of the Times were branded by this Title; weaved of ſuch a faſhion, as it became a covering to the wicked, and no better than a Fools-coat to men truly conſcientious. Neither was any charged with it, though in the beſt relation, thought competent for preferment in Church or Common-weal; which made the bad glory in their Impiety, and ſuch as had not an extraordinary meaſure of grace aſhamed of any outward profeſſion of ſanctity. Court Sermons were fraught with bitter Invectives againſt theſe people, whom they ſeated in a claſs far nearer the confines of Hell than Papiſts. Yet the wiſeſt durſt not define them. The King called them *Proteſtants ſcared out of their wits*; others, *Lovers of God, and haters of their neighbours*. Fooliſh and inſignificant expreſſions! For had they held them to the names of Hypocrites, known and abominated by all, they would have been buried in contempt, and not riſen, as ſince they have done, to the perpetual detriment of Church and State. But the breadth and newneſs of the Name, together with the colour it hath, did not only delight and cover all that cheated under a pretence of Sanctity, but ſtifled the ſeeds of goodneſs; ſo as probity was obſtructed by deceit in the general commerce, and Religion the guard of propriety, rendred

rendered uſeleſs if not deſtructive to humane ſociety.

Thus hath the Devil quenched (for what was but a Rivelet then, is now ſwelled to a Land-flood) that Zeal with Hypocriſie, and its concomitants Shame and Reproach, which in my Fathers days reſiſted the Flames of the hotteſt perſecution: For to avoid an imputation of *Puritaniſm* (a greater rub in the way to preferment, than Vice) our *Divines* for the generality did ſacrifice more time *to Bacchus* than *Minerva*; and being excellent Company, drew the moſt ingenious Laity into a like exceſs: And for their ordinary Studies, they were School points and paſſionate expreſſions; as more converſant with the *Friars* than the *Fathers*, ſcorning in their ordinary diſcourſe at *Luther* and *Calvin*, but eſpecially at the laſt, ſo as I have heard a Biſhop *thank God he never* (though a good Poet himſelf) *had read a line in him or* Chaucer. The ſame uſed this ſimile in a Sermon at Court, *That our Religion, like the Kings Arms, ſtood Between two Beaſts, the Puritan and Papiſt*, which perhaps admitted of a better conſtruction than he meant, the laſt being, like the *Lion*, eaſily known; but the firſt, ſuitable to a *Unicorn*, never ſeen but in Painting. Nor was this Schiſm any ways dangerous, till King *James* (more it may be thought out of oſtentation, to ſhew ſuch parts as are nothing neceſſary, than Reaſon of State, only requiſite in a Prince, made it conſiderable, by putting it in competition with the Doctrine generally profeſt, in a *Colloquie* held before

before his Royal person at *Hampton Court*: where he sinned so highly against the experience to be deduced from the French and Scots, who by offering the unquestioned, or at least legal Profession to Arbitration, have brought their Religious habit into such a motley, as 'tis scarce discernable which side is the right, or with the most safety may be owned by the Magistrate. Since till that dishonourable dispute, Who should command, the *Diocesan* or the *Priest*, none did boggle at the *Surplice*, *Cross*, *Ring*, and so by consequence the *Common-Prayer* Book, but out of pure Conscience, and therefore unlikely to hurt any besides themselves; till the number increasing to such a proportion, made a visible profit appear to so many as wanting better imployment, could but conform their Mode, words and looks to these precisians; though discrepant in heart from any thing the first owners of the title of *Puritan* did commonly practise in their conversation towards God and Man: This generation being ordinarily found, especially after any long admittance, so well acquainted with the Secrets of God, as to distinguish between the Reprobate and the Elect. Which Whimsie grew upon the Kings Disputation (whom you must presume they overcame in noise, and all things else but Logick and Power) so universal, as it became a good Benefactor to all uncapable through ignorance of any other preferment, and a Sanctuary to such wicked persons as had the Art to dissemble a repentance. Nor did the notorious debauchery

bauchery of the *Episcopal Clergy* add a little to the rent, much augmented by the *Scotish* propensity to *Presbytery*, though the chiefest promoters of it in their doctrine and example were the *Lecturers*, *Vicars*, and *Parsons* of inconsiderable worth and Livings, being the readier to oppose Authority, as having little to lose, becoming by this means the darlings of the rabble. Nor did the sudden *Translations* of *Bishops* from less to greater Sees give time to visit sufficiently their respective charges; being more intent upon the receit of such Taxes as a long abused custom had estated them in, than upon Reformation. I have been the more punctual, because from the Pulpit came all our future miseries, God not being served there as he ought. The *Court-Sermons* informing his Majesty he might as Christs Vicegerent Command all, and that the People, if they denied him supplement or inquired after the disposure of it, were presumptuous peepers into the sacred Ark of the State; not to be done but under the severest curse, though it appeared likely to fall through the falshood or folly of those at the helm. But on the contrary the other qualified Preachers did fulminate against *non residencie*, profanation of the *Lords Day*, connivance at *Popery*, persecution of Gods people, only inclusive in their Congregations, and those that supplied the wants of such like Saints as themselves, who maintained their Families and kept them in good plight out of the Fasts they did weekly assign, at first in private, and after before the face of the Sun, and all this without or against

againſt the leave of the Magiſtrate. But if this ſhould be proſecuted to its fartheſt extent, it would moderate, if not expunge all the vilany legible in Story.

17. Now by this time the Nation grew feeble, and over-oppreſt with *Impoſitions*, *Monopolies*, *Aids*, *Privy-Seals*, *Concealments*, *pretermitted Cuſtoms*, *&c.* beſides all *forfeitures* upon *pœnal Statutes*, with a multitude of tricks more to cheat the *Engliſh* Subject (the moſt, if not all, unheard of in *Queen Elizabeths* days) which were ſpent upon the *Scots*: By whom nothing was unasked, and to whom nothing was denied; who for want of honeſt trafique did extract Gold out of the faults of the *Engliſh*, whoſe pardons they begged, and ſold at intolerable rates, Murder it ſelf not being exempted: Nay, I dare boldly ſay, one Man might with more ſafety have killed another, than a raskal-Deer; But if a Stag had been known to have miſcarried, and the author fled, a Proclamation with the deſcription of the Party had been preſently penned by the Attorny-general, and the penalty of his Majeſties high diſpleaſure (by which was underſtood the Star-chamber) threatned againſt all that did abet, comfort or relieve him. Thus Satyrical, or, if you pleaſe Tragical was this Sylvan Prince againſt Deer-killers, and indulgent to Man-ſlayers. But leaſt this expreſſion ſhould be thought too Poetical for an Hiſtorian, I ſhall leave him dreſſed to poſterity in the colours I ſaw him in the next Progreſs after his Inauguration, which was as *Green* as the Graſs he trod on, with

with a *Feather* in his Cap, and a *Horn* in ſtead of a Sword by his ſide: how ſuitable to his Age, Calling, or Perſon, I leave others to judge from his *Pictures*, he owning a Countenance not in the leaſt regard ſemblable to any my eyes ever met with, beſides an *Hoſt* dwelling in *Anthill*, formerly a *Shepherd*, and ſo metaphorically of the ſame profeſſion: He that evening parted with his *Queen*, and to ſhew himſelf more uxorious before the People at his firſt coming than in private he was, he did at her Coach ſide take his leave, by *Kiſſing* her ſufficiently to the middle of the ſhoulders, for ſo low ſhe went bare all the days I had the fortune to know her; having a *Skin* far more amiable than the *Features* it covered, though not the *Diſpoſition*, in which Report rendred her very debonair.

18. I do now conſent freely to the juſtneſs of their award who may in this Age condemn of vanity ſuch *Obſervations* as theſe: yet having deduced from experience that it is not only the Frailty, but Cuſtom and pure Nature of Humanity to venerate the leaſt ſplinter of *Antiquity*, beyond any thing bears the impreſs of the preſent Age, though commonly of no higher deſcent than the *Grecian* or *Roman* Monarchy, young and infantine in relation to the Worlds beginning, and ſo of an inconſiderable force to conteſt with *Printing*, having themſelves with all the monuments they could raiſe, been out-ſtripped by a number of Books that had nothing elſe to keep them alive but the Ink that dropped from the Writers Pen.

Nor

Nor ſhall I, encouraged by the preſumption of this greater advantage, refuſe to regiſter all I know or do but firmly believe, as one delighting more in the contemplation of a future Reſurrection in the opinions of thoſe that may poſſeſs this Nation many Ages hence, than terrified with the Cenſures or contempt of my own. Nor did I ever yet meet any Reaſon to alter the confidence I have in ſome of my *Contemporaries*, that they equal, if not exceed ſuch as are moſt celebrated in all things but Time: And he that is ſuch an Infidel in the deſert of his Country as to deny it, I leave him to our *former Sermons* for his converſion, and to the *Stage* for a final confutation of ſo much partiality. As for me, I ever aimed my indeavours rather at the ſatisfaction of a ſingle Reader, like my ſelf, who only ſeeks to Learn, than thoſe think they are able to Teach: who deal by Authors as the Jews did by our Saviour, that buried all the advantage might have been made of his Divinity, in the ſeeming frailties of his Humanity, without which they could not have had any commerce, or underſtanding of Truth, or drawn any benefit from what others writ, or himſelf ſuffered. Neither can I apprehend it a greater folly in me to regiſter the *yellowneſs of Queen Anns hair*, with other levities (which may ſeem pertinent to poſterity though trivial now, yet of as high concernment as *Cæſars Noſe*) than for the *Earl of Arundel* to give ſo many hundred Crowns for an *Urn* a Maſon would not have valued at a penny; yet he was not only commended but imitated by

King

King *Charles*, who cannot appear ignorant to any so happy as to read what he hath left. And these are the Merchants I look one day to traffique with, in the mean time the stock of the Buyer need not lie dead, having something else of more credit in the Worlds opinion, though not in my own that writ it. But to sound a retreat to this Sally, I would fain know how these low circumstances could be spared by such Almanack-gazers (that are none of the Booksellers worst Chapmen) who may give credit to the *white King*, or the vision of one in *Green*, said to be averred from *Italy* by——though I take such predictions upon no more solid an account, than flying vapours the former terrified imaginations of a discontented people do not seldom rally into the prodigious shapes of Armies and fighting men.

19. All Kings cast away *Mony* the day of their Enthronement, but King *James* did it all his life. And here to speak Gods truth, what better measure could be expected from that Line, the *English* folly or hypocrisie had rendred Motherless, by the infamous and unprincely mediation of a Hangman. But the fault in suffering an Alien by birth, no less than an Enemy in affection to enter by any wider admittance than through both Houses of *Parliament*, hath not only given the Nation in general, but the *Earl of Northumberland* in particular, sufficient cause to wipe their eyes: who cannot but leave to posterity the Scars, if not Wounds, received from such a blind mistake as the imagining any future obligation or precedent

cedent benefit ſhould expunge out of the heart of Prince (that apprehends nothing about him but what he takes as his due by inheritance) the marks of a former injury, or a jealouſie depending on an after fear. For the thoughts of Kings, when eſtabliſhed, are ſo far altered, as to receive inſpirations from no remoter intereſts than what their own paſſions direct them to, unleſs compelled: So as King *James*, not taking his proſpect from the love ſhewn in his quiet admittance, but the height of his Subjects power, began to muſter up the Armies the *Engliſh* had raiſed againſt his native Country; and not only to meaſure, but to weigh the blood ſpilt on the borders; amongſt which he found that of *James* the Fifth mingled with his Allies, which prompted him no leſs to revenge, than the many perjuries, cruelties, and perfidious carriages of his Anceſtors, ſtill hanging on a File in the *Engliſh* Memory, did to diſtruſt. Nor had the *Earl of Northumberland*, of honourable extraction and exquiſite erudition, though muffled with love to the perſon of that Prince and his own Ambition, any reaſon to think the memory of the *money* he ſupplied him with in *Scotland*, would not quite vaniſh upon the firſt apparition of the *Exchequer* at *Weſtminſter*; or that the Forces he offered to raiſe in his favour, in caſe of oppoſition, would ſeem leſs than formidable to him when quiet in his Chair; where once placed, Monarchs do rather ruminate on future dangers, than former benefits: Kings, like imperious Husbands, perverting, after Marriage, thoſe ſtolen favours into Jealouſie, that

before an indiſſoluble intereſt were reckoned for marks of no leſs obligation than confidence; out of a diſtruſt, that upon diſcontent, the ſame Arts and Careſſes may be imployed to their damage. However this ſuited with *Northumberlands* ſenſe, I am ſure it fell pat with his ſucceſs; for after endeavour failed to find him ſo far ſmutted with the Gun-powder Plot as might engage his Life, he was caſt into the *Star-chamber*, that Den of Arbitrary Juſtice, where the Keeper for the time being, two Biſhops, two Judges, and as many wiſe Lords and honeſt great Officers ſate, as were pleaſed to come; the moſt of whom, though unable to render a Reaſon for their cenſure, did, every Wedneſday and Friday in Term time, concur like &c. to tear ſuch as refuſed to worſhip the Minion, or to yield to the pretended Royal Prerogative. Nor did they ſcape who were any way Satyrical, a thing not to be avoided by the lovers of Truth; Corruption being as common as execution, with which it ſeldom went other than hand in hand: But the main imployment of this Court, was, like School-boys, to hold up one the other whileſt their Maſter whipt them. Amongſt whom was this *Earl* fined (if I miſtake not) at 20000 l, with impriſonment in the Tower during his Majeſties pleaſure, which was ſo great that he kept him in there divers years, upon what ſcore was not then ſo eaſily diſcerned: for if *Percy* was his kinſman, it is as true that he had lain many nights in the Kings Chamber before he came hither, and been imployed in private by him to the

Engliſh

English Catholicks, yet his Majesty would have taken it ill to have been thought a Papist, or a conspirer of Queen *Elizabeths* death. Not to proceed farther upon an exasperated and single evidence, otherwise than that it did not suit with any thing I could observe in his temper, much less with a person of his Honour and Fortune to exchange so happy a present condition, for any future advantage he could hope to scramble out from amongst Cinders and Ruines of his Country.

20. It was the fashion of those times, and did so continue till these (wherein not only the Mother but her Daughters are ruined) for the principal Gentry, Lords, Courtiers, and men of all Professions not meerly Mechanick, to meet in St. *Pauls* Church by eleven, and walk in the middle Isle till twelve; and after dinner, from three to six; during which time some discoursed of Business, others of News. Now, in regard of the universal commerce, there happened little that did not first or last arrive here: And I being young, and wanting a more advantagious imployment, did, during my aboad in *London*, which was three fourth parts of the year, associate my self at those hours with the choicest company I could pick out, amongst such as I found most inquisitive after affairs of State; who being then my self in a daily attendance upon a hope (though a rotten one) of a future preferment, I appeared the more considerable, being as ready to satisfie, according to my weak abilities, their Curiosity, as they were mine: who out of a candid nature were not

ordinarily found to name an Author, easily lost in such a concourse, where his own report was not seldom within few minutes returned to him for news by another. And these *News-mongers*, as they called them, did not only take the boldness to weigh the publick but most intrinsick actions of the State, which some Courtier or other did betray to this Society: Amongst whom divers being very rich had great sums owing them by such as stood next the Throne, who by this means were rendred in a manner their Pensioners; so as I have found since little Reason to question the truth of what I heard then, but much to confirm me in it; wherefore the bolder to insert a Report then current; which was, The King thought *Northumberland* too intimate with his Son *Henry*, who in vindication of this Earls persecution cast a malignant aspect upon the Houses of *Suffolk* and *Sarisbury*, thought no ways avertible but by his *Death*. But since a likely Lie may with more manners and less reproach be imposed upon Belief, than an improbable Truth without witness, I shall for this time wade no farther in the present discourse, already thought dry in the memory of the most. Though this remains upon record, that brave *Forteſcue*, that did first oppose this *Scotish* succession but upon Caution, enjoyed his liberty, without any more considerable loss than sustained by the exchange of the *Chancellors* place in the *Exchequer*, for that in the *Dutchy of Lancaster*, remaining to the last a Counsellor: whereas *Northumberland*, that had drawn his Sword in his favour, was made Captive, disgraced

graced and insulted over by his Enemies: which, Fortune, to render it more terrible, did some years after alot his Son the Lord *Percy* a Wife but of the Family of *Sarisbury*, whose bloud the Father said would not mingle in a Bason, so averse was he from it. Nor had *Forteſcue* better ſucceſs, when, by a huge entertainment at *Cornbury*, he went about to oblige the King; for as *Tomlins*, once his Secretary, told me, He at his parting laughed, and let a ——— in the Porch. Wherefore we may note it, as equally pernicious to oblige a Prince above a reaſonable requital, as to oppoſe him beyond the extent of a moderate patience.

21. About this time the *Puritans*, exaſperated by the *Biſhops* (who to render their preferments of more conſequence to Monarchy, upon whoſe dependance they now only ſubſiſted, would not ſuffer them to be ſo long at quiet as might give them leave to recover their ſenſes) did in a ſubmiſſive way (encouraged by the *Hugonots* ſucceſs) mediate another *Colloque* before the King, whom they endeavoured to draw to their Party by the high eſteem pretended they had of his Learning, though Church-land was the moſt pious inducement in the eyes of thoſe *Scotch* and *Engliſh* that did prompt them to it upon promiſe of their beſt aſſiſtance: But his Majeſty having found by his former experience, that Schiſms are attended with a ſmaller train of Inconveniences, and eaſier buried and with with leſs clamour, in Sufferance and Contempt, than by Oppoſition or Diſputation, did moſt ſtifly deny it; appearing highly diſpleaſed; that,

after ſo manifeſt a conviction, he ſhould again be tempted to hazard his Reaſon againſt ſuch as had nothing but a brutiſh obſtinacy to oppoſe: which anſwer was allowed of as far more Majeſtical and politick than his former conceſſion in deſcending to a formal diſputation: ſince Opinions rooted by deſcent, are ſooner chilled through want of preferments, than eradicated by power, which arraigns the expoſing of any Religion to conteſt as dangerous, ſeeing all at this day in veneration are under perſecution in ſome place or other, wherefore unable to ſilence the Reaſon of thoſe formerly ſuborned through a contrary Education.

22. In the mean time this Nation was rooted up by thoſe *Caledonian* Bores, as theſe homely Verſes do atteſt, which were every where poſted, and do contain as many Stories as Lines, which I ſhall explain, though they may poſſibly fall out of order, it not ſuiting with the liberty of a Spirit, that walks rather for its own exerciſe than the inſtruction of an ignorant and ingrateful State, to be punctual.

They Beg *our* Lands, *our* Goods, *our* Lives,
They Switch *our* Nobles, *and lie with their wives*;
They Pinch *our* Gentry, *and ſend for our* Benchers,
They Stab *our* Serjeants, *and piſtol our* Fencers.

That they were gracious with the *Engliſh Ladies*

dies none can doubt that hath had but the opportunity to peep into a Court, where the Love of Women is found a conſequence of the favour of the Prince.

23. Wherefore I ſhall take my firſt riſe from him that was then *Philip Herbert*, ſince *Earl of Montgomery*., a man carreſſed by King *James* for his *hanſome face*, which kept him not long Company, leaving little behind it ſo acceptable as to render him fit ſociety for any body but himſelf, and ſuch *Books* as Poſterity may find ordinarily *dedicated* to him, which might yet have prompted his underſtanding to a more candid proceeding than he uſed at *Oxford*, where he exerciſed greater paſſion againſt Learning, that had by teaching Books to ſpeak *Engliſh* endeavoured to make him Wiſe, than he did towards *Ramſey*, who by *ſwitching* him on the face at *Croydon*, rendred him ridiculous: It was at a *Horſe-race* where many both *Scotch* and *Engliſh* met; The latter of which did upon this accident draw together with a reſolution to make it a *National Quarrel*, ſo far as Mr. *John Pinchback*, though a maimed Man, having but the perfect uſe of two fingers, rode about with his dagger in his hand, crying, *Let us break our faſt with them here, and dine with the reſt at London.* But *Herbert* not offering to ſtrike again, there was nothing ſpilt but the reputation of a Gentleman; in lieu of which, if I am not miſtaken, the King made him a *Knight*, a *Baron*, a *Viſcount*, and an *Earl* in one day, as he well deſerved, having for his ſake, or rather out of fear, tranſgreſſed againſt all the Gradations of Honour

For if he had not torn to rags that coat of Arms, ſo often in my hearing bragged of, and ſo ſtanched the blood then ready to be ſpilt, not only that day, but all after muſt have proved fatal to the *Scots*, ſo long as any had ſtaid in *England*; the Royal Family excepted, which in reſpect to Majeſty, or their own ſafety, they muſt have ſpared, or the Kingdom been left to the miſery of ſeeing ſo much bloud laid out as the trial of ſo many crabbed Titles would have required; there being then according to report no leſs than fourteen, of which *Parſons* the *Jeſuite*, ſo impudent is this Fraternity, makes the *Infanta* the firſt. But they could not be theſe conſiderations that reſtrained *Herbert*, who wanted leiſure no leſs than capacity to uſe them, though laid in his way by others: And therefore if this effeminacy produced good to the Nation (at that time doubted by many) the honour is only due to God, whoſe miraculous power was no leſs manifeſted (upon ſo high a provocation and great encouragement as the whole field afforded *Philip*) in raiſing ſo much flegm in a man nobly born as might maſter ſo great a fury, than when he diſcovered to *Sampſon* a cold *Fountain* in the *Jaw-bone* of an *Aſs*. And ſuch of his Friends as blame his *Youth* for doing nothing, take away all excuſe could have been made for him, had he done too much: ſince all commonly arrive at the years of Valour, before they can attain to thoſe of Diſcretion. This I can atteſt for the man, that he was intolerable cholerick and offenſive, and did not refrain whilſt he was *Chamberlain*, to break many wiſer heads than his

his own: Mr. *May* that tranſlated *Lucan* having felt the weight of his *Staff*; which had not his Office, and the place, being the Banqueting Houſe, protected, I queſtion whether he would ever have ſtrook again: *So diſobliging were the moſt grateful pleaſures of the Court*; whoſe *Masks* and other *Spectacles*, though they wholly intended them for ſhew, and would not have been pleaſed without great ſtore of Company, yet did not ſpare to affront ſuch as came to ſee them: which accuſeth the King no leſs of Folly, in being at ſo vaſt an expence for that which ſignified nothing but in relation to Pride and Luſt, than the Spectators (I mean ſuch as were not invited) of Madneſs, who did not only give themſelves the diſcompoſure of body attending ſuch irregular hours, but to others an opportunity to abuſe them. Nor could I, that had none of their ſhare who paſſed through the moſt incommodious acceſs, count my ſelf any greater gainer (who did ever find ſome time before the grand night to view the Scene) after I had reckoned my attendance and ſleep: there appearing little obſervable, beſides the Company, and what Imagination might conjecture from the placing of the Ladies, and the immenſe charge and univerſal vanity in clothes, &c.

24. I have been told the *Mother* of *Herbert* tore her hair at the report of her Sons diſhonour, who, I am confident, upon a like opportunity would have ranſomed her own repute, if ſhe had not redeemed her Countries. She was that *Siſter* to Sir *Philip Sidney* to whom he addreſſed his *Arcadia*, and of whom he had no other advantage

vantage than what he received from that partial benevolence of Fortune, in making him a Man; which yet ſhe did in ſome Judgments, recompenſe in *beauty*: Her *Pen* being nothing ſhort of his, as I am ready to atteſt, as far as ſo inferiour a Reaſon may be taken, having ſeen incomparable *Letters* of hers. But leſt I ſhould ſeem to treſpaſs upon truth, which few do unſuborned, as I proteſt I am, unleſs by her Rhetorick, I ſhall leave the World her *Epitaph*, in which the Author doth manifeſt himſelf a Poet in all things but Untruth.

Underneath this Sable Herſe
Lies the ſubject of all Verſe:
Sidney's *Siſter*, Pembrok's *Mother*;
Death ere thou killeſt ſuch another,
Fair and Good and Learn'd as ſhe,
Time ſhall throw a Dart at thee.
Marble Piles let no man raiſe
To her Name, For after days
Some Kind woman born as ſhe
Reading this, like Niobe
Shall turn Statue, and become
Both her Mourner and her Tomb.

25. In the mean time the King was much troubled at this Accident, not being able to ruminate upon the conſequence it might have produced, without trembling: Nor could he refrain from letting fall ſharp expreſſions againſt the inſolency of the *Scots* and folly of the *Engliſh*, whoſe bloud he pretended to indulge moſt both within and without him: But this he ſoon retra-

retracted, carrying such an awful reverence to his own Countrymen, who had chastised him in his Mothers belly, as he durst not displease them, out of fear to find himself deserted. It being past peradventure that he never looked upon the *English* as friends, the cause he rejoiced in nothing more than promoting *Excess*, by which he hoped to ruine *Nobility* and *Gentry*. But however remote his affections were, he durst not but banish *Ramsey* the Court; a poor satisfaction for *Herbert*, that was left nothing to testifie his Manhood but a Beard and Children, by that *Daughter* of the last great *Earl of Oxford*, whose *Lady* was brought to his Bed under the notion of his *Mistress*, and from such a vertuous deceit she is said to proceed.

26. One thing was then remarkable at *Croydon* field, that none but Sir *Edward Sackvile*, of the *English*, went on the *Scots* side, and he out of love to the Lord *Bruce*, whom after he killed in a Duel; which was so ill taken by his Countrymen, as divers protested, that if the fray had succeeded, he was the first likely to have fallen.

27. The second matter of worth in the *Verses* concerns Mr. *Edward Hawley*, an intimate acquaintance of mine, who coming to Court on a grand day, *Maxwel* (more famous for this and Wealth, than Civility or Education, not being ever able to read or write) led him out of the room by a black string he wore in his ear, a fashion then much in use. But this had like to have cost warm blood, *Hawly* appearing of another temper than he at *Croydon*. Besides, being

being of *Grays Inn*, not only his Society, but all the Gentry in *London* took themſelves concerned ſo far, as meer ſtrangers flocked to his Chamber, and though more than needed (he being apt enough for revenge himſelf) they beſought him to remember he had the Honour of all the *Engliſh* Gentry in his hands, and if managed with Gallantry and diſcretion, he ſhould find enow to ſtand by him; many offering to become his Seconds, which he could not accept, having before made choice of Mr. *John Thoroughgood* ſince Knighted, who told *Maxwel*, if he refuſed to fight, *Hawly* would kill him where-ever he met with an opportunity; which ſo frighted King *James*, that he ſent for the Benchers, and through the mediation of *Chancellor Bacon*, formerly of the ſame Society; took up the Quarrel, forcing the *Scot* to give humble ſatisfaction, to a quiet admiſſion of what Mr. *Hawly* ſhould deſire: And farther to ſolder up the breach, *the Students of Grays-Inn* performed an exquiſite *Mask* before his Majeſty, by whom they were after invited to a great *Banquet*; whereat the Gentlemen, ſomething contrary to the rules of Civility, were ſo haſty, as to ſcramble, rather than feed; for which they underwent a ſharp cenſure, being in the preſence of many *Scots* who looked upon it with ſcorn, though owned themſelves for Maſters of no great Modeſty. Beſides, when they kiſſed the Kings hand many put it to their lips with their own, looked on at Court for a low abſurdity.

28. The third relates to one *Murry*, who killed, by the help of his men, a *Serjeant* that came

came to arrest him under or near *Ludgate*; for which, more to satisfie the Sheriffs of *London*, than Justice, the two Servants were hanged, and the Master who was principal, though with some difficulty, escaped. But the Lord *Zankor* found no such favour for killing *Turner* the *Fencer* who was a man of eminent parts, and so better deserved it, yet his Servants and he were executed: by whose death the King satisfied in part the People, and wholly himself; it being thought he hated him for his love to the *King of France*, and not making any reply when he said in his presence to one that called our *James a second Solomon*, that *he hoped he was not David the Fidlers Son.* Thus do Princes abuse one another.

29. In this place my memory presents me with Sir *Robert Cecil*, after *Earl of Sarisbury*, famed for the most mortal Enemy of the *Earl of Essex*, and a seducer of the King, by perswading him *this Nation was so rich, it could be neither exhausted nor provoked*; A saying generally laid to his charge, yet contradicted in this practice of his; for the *Earl of Sommerset*, being in the flower of his favour before he had either *Wife or Beard*, had got a peremptory Warrant to the Treasurer for 20000l; who, in his exquisite Prudence, finding that not only the Exchequer, but the *Indies* themselves would in time want fluency to feed so immense a prodigality, and not without reason apprehending the King as ignorant in the value of what was demanded, as the desert of the Person that begged it; and knowing a Pound, upon the *Scotch* accompt,

accompt, would not pay for the ſhooing of a Horſe, by which his Maſter might be farther led out of the way of thrift, than in his own Nature he was willing to go, being obſerved very tenacious in the diſtribution of any money paſſed through his hands, or in his preſence; laid the former mentioned ſum upon the ground in a room through which his Majeſty was to paſs: who amazed at the quantity, as a ſight not unpoſſibly his eyes never ſaw before, asked the Treaſurer *Whoſe money it was?* who anſwered, *Yours before you gave it away:* Whereupon the King fell into paſſion, proteſting he was abuſed, never intending any ſuch gift: And caſting himſelf upon the heap, ſcrabled out the quantity of two or three hundred pounds, and ſwore he ſhould have no more: However it being the Kings Minion, *Cecil* durſt not provoke him farther than by permitting him only the moiety. But this not working a perfect cure upon his Maſters *profuſeneß*, or with the reſt of his Vertues being hid from the knowledge of the Menu, who like Flies feaſt their affections upon the corruptions, rather than ſounder parts of Great men; and having before had ſuch a duſt raiſed in their Cholers, by his ſharp proceedings againſt the late *Earl of Eſſex*, and his encloſures of *Hatfield Chaſe* (after he had to his ſo great advantage exchanged it for his *Manor* of *Theobalds*) that the black Cloud of detraction fell upon all he ſaid or did: To which the Misfortunes accompanying him from his birth, did not a little add; a Mulct in Nature, like an Optique Spectacle, multiplying much, in the

the ſight of the People, the apparitions of ill. Nor was *his Death*, by prejudice looked upon as *Herods*, nor the place it attached him on, *viz. Sarisbury Plain* in his Coach, nor *Po* his Phyſitian then preſent (a meer Emperick, and celebrated for no skill but in the cure of the &c.) ſmall inducement to the Reports which followed: yet when theſe were ſpent, and he as it were retired into that Sanctuary that doth hide reproach rather than increaſe it, inexorable Fate, by the aſſiſtance perhaps of ſome Impoſthume, (which his maligners tranſlated into an effect of Gods vengeance, and did dedicate it to his farther Infamy) brake the Lead he was wrapped in, with ſo much noiſe and ſtench as affrighted the by-ſtanders: Therefore no wonder he met with no fairer Encomiums, of which I ſhall relate theſe, not favouring ſo much of ſcurrility though perhaps leſs of Wit than many did then current.

Here lies thrown, for the Worms to eat,
Little Boſſive Robin, *that was ſo Great.*
Not Robin Good-fellow, nor Robin Hood,
But Robin *th' Encloſer of* Hatfield *Wood.*
Who ſeem'd as ſent from ugly Fate,
To ſpoil the Prince and rob the State.
Owning a Mind of diſmal ends,
As Traps for Foes, and Tricks for Friends.
But now in Hatfield *lies the* ——
Who ſtank while he liv'd and died of the ——

It may be judged by theſe, how future Chronicles agree with common fame, which, in my opinion

pinion ought not to be rejected, if not chiefly relied upon. Thoſe that follow came from ſo ſmart a Pen in the Kings ſenſe, that he ſaid, *he hoped the Author would die before him:* who it was God knows.

Here lies Hobinal, *our* Paſtor *while ere*,
That once in a Quarter our Fleeces *did ſhear.*
To pleaſe us, his Curr *he kept under* Clog,
And was ever after both Shepherd *and* Dog.
For Oblation *to* Pan *his cuſtom was thus*,
He firſt gave a Trifle, *then offered up* Us:
And through his falſe Worſhip *ſuch power he did gain*,
As kept him o'th' Mountain, *and us on the* Plain.
Where many a Horn-Pipe *he tuned to his* Phyllis,
And ſweetly ſung Walſingham *to's* Amaryllis.
Till Atropos *clapt him, a Pox on the Drab*,
For (ſpight of his Tarbox) *he died of the* Scab.

It is poſſible Poſterity may find a *Key* to theſe Verſes; if not, the loſs is not ſo much: however it will not be uneaſie for her to make one able to ſerve their turn that never knew the right.

How many ſoever his Faults were, he was of an incomparable *Prudence*, and coming ſo near after ſuch an unadviſed ſcatterer as King *James*, he might have feathered his Family better than he did, but that he looked upon low things with

with contempt, leaving much to the gleaning of his *Servants*, of which many came after into high places. Nor may that be unproperly applied to him, which is, in another case, said of *Gregory the Great*, that he was *the first ill Treasurer, and the last good, since Queen* Elizabeths *days:* He not standing charged with any grosser Bribery or Corruption than what lay inclusive under the Ceremony of *New-years Gifts*, or his own or Servants sharing with such as by importunity rather than merit had obtained Debentures out of the *Exchequer*; which through these courses came at last to be so far exhausted, as it was not able to feed the *Privie Purse* and bear the necessary charges of the *Houshold*. And this put him upon an improvement of the *Customs*, to the great discouragement of Merchants; no less than the project of *Baronets*, intended at first for a meer Cheat (as a person of Honour and no stranger to *Cecil* did protest) had not the great concourse that crouded after this Title (rendred infamous by the base consideration of Money inserted in their Patent) kept it in repute; there having been a Motion made, if not a Bill put into the last Parliament of K. *James* against it: no more being by the primitive Institution to be admitted than two hundred, and they so qualified, as were hard to be found, and so the likelier to be laught out of it after their money paid, which was all the Treasurer desired: who did not by it intend to put any affront upon the *Knights Batchelours*, as was supposed, and he in some disdain questioned for it. But the *Sale of Crown*

Timber appeared of ſadeſt conſequence to the ſafety of the Nation, in relation to the Navy, the Walls of the Kingdom: Engliſh Oak being then eſteemed of as the beſt for a Sea-fight, not being apt to cleave, upon the receit of a Shot, but rather bore: and of theſe millions were felled and ſold at vile prizes, not only during the life of the *Earl of Sarisbury*, but all the Reign of King *James*.

30. Now though there did no degrees of Compariſon appear in the wills of thoſe *Northern Adjectives*, not able to ſubſiſt without *England*, who like their Anceſtors did exchange a *Wilderneſs* for a *Canaan*; yet much more miſchief reſided in the power of ſome than others; amongſt whom now freſh in my Memory are the Lords *Roxborrow*, *Fenton*, *Carliſle*, and *Dunbar*, that during the Reign of this King lay ſucking at the breſts of the State, nor were ſome of them weaned long after his Death; the laſt of which ſwallowed at one gulp together with the *Chancellorſhip of the Exchequer*, all the ſtanding *Wardrobe*, wherein were more *Jewels*, *Pearl*, Rich *Robes*, and Princely *Apparel*, than ever any King of *Scotland* (if all of them put together) could call his own before; all which I have ſince heard rated by the Officers at an incredible Sum, whoſe Servants did uſe to ſhew them for money, it appearing none of the leaſt rarities in *London* before this great Diſſolution. And for *James Hayes*, after *Earl of Carliſle*, though of no more Noble extraction than the immediate Son of a *Scotch Merchant*, an appellation ſome under a Stall would ſcorn

to

to Patronize, it is known he did bestow more trimming in the varnish of a Wainscot Carcass, than any of his Masters Ancestors did in the clothing themselves and their whole Families. Nor was the *Honor of Anthil* a small Present made at one time to the *Earl of Kelly*, especially by a Prince that had never been able to match it, but through the benevolence, if I may not rate it at the folly of a Nation, of whose ruine he became the first and principal Instrument. Yet as if these ancient Standards, and so by consequence the more tolerable, because Companions in his lower condition, had not been enough to eclipse the glory of *England*, this ungrateful Prince (if I may call him so that cannot in Justice deserve, from one born under Queen *Elizabeth*, a better Title) to make our miseries hereditary, called up *Robert Carre* from a poor Page, and to the dishonour of our Ancient Nobility, raised him to as high a Title, and as great an Estate (three hundred thousand pounds being rated to the Crown upon his fall) as most Earls of *England*: But there appears so many leaves lying between his advancement and ruine, as I am not at this time prepared to remove.

31. King *James* studying only to keep things quiet during his own time, without any other care of his *Posterity* than what related to the safety they brought to his person, and finding *Bishops* the best *Church-Government* yet discovered in the pursuance of *Monarchy*, whereas a *Parity* in *Ecclesiastical affairs* did portend a propensity to *Popularity* in the State. He looked

upon *Presbytery* in his own Country with no leſs fear than diſdain: yet believing it unpoſſible to unhinge the *Nobility* and *Gentry* from the hold they had already taken on the *Clergy*, in which lay the beſt claim they had to *Church-Lands*, nor the Prieſts from their Patrons to whom they were houſhold Chaplains, or of ſo mean parts as unlikely to hold the pittance they enjoyed in the company of any ſeverer power than their own; beſides the nature of man is better content with a little in freedom, than far more with conſtraint. He endeavours to joyn both Nations in a *Union*; but not willing to gratifie the *Engliſh* ſo much as to make them participate of the *Scotiſh* Immunities, but rather to bend their necks to our yoke, he intimates a *Parliament*; and before their aſſembling endeavours to ſuborn by large promiſes all the popular and *principal ſpeakers*; hoping, the *Vowels* being at his devotion, to make the *Conſonants* comply with any voice in what ſenſe he was pleaſed to put upon them, or loſe themſelves in inſignificant Clamours. *The ſame project and endeavour by corrupting members, was uſed about ſeven years after in the* Parliament of Undertakers, *where certain* Bills of Grace *(as they called them) were offered to the* Houſe of Commons *by the* Earl of Somerſet. The firſt *Propoſition*, and that which came fulleſt up to the Kings deſign, was this; That *as both Nations were under one Prince, the way to obliterate all former or future difference, was to ſubmit both to one Law*; without manifeſting that partial reſolution he had, rather to remain

main where he was, than ſuffer the *Engliſh* to ſhare in the *priviledges* of *Scotland*; imagining it no hard matter upon ſo eminent an advantage to bring the leſs readily to ſubmit to the greater, and that where the Court did commonly reſide: by which he had with one buſh ſtopped two of the greateſt gaps did then appear open in his Prerogative. But to this he received a like anſwer from his Countrymen, *That in* France, Spain, *and the* Netherlands, *many* Laws *and* Uſances *were proper to ſome Provinces, Cities, and Towns, that did not extend to other parts, though in groſs under the ſame Capital Power. Nor were the* Cuſtoms *of* Kent, *Iſles of* Wight, Gernſey, *and* Jerſey, &c. *communicable with the reſt of* England, *notwithſtanding the contrary endeavours of many Kings and Queens of the Nation: wherefore his Majeſty might gueſs at the difficulties of the attempt, to perſwade the Subject out of thoſe* Laws *from whence he received any perſonal benefit, by his own and all Princes elſe unwillingneſs to augment them.* Nor could they for the preſent, without expoſing his ancient and native Country to a rupture, innovate any thing in *Church Government*; yet upon the Kings promiſe to the Nobility, and his future real performance, they found a room in their Conſciences for *Biſhops*. Though under this fatal prediction, grounded upon the Incompliancy of the Epiſcopal Clergy and their natural propenſity to dilate their power, that it would ruine one if not both the Nations, which our eyes have been ſo unhappy as to ſee accompliſhed; and through the ſelf-

ſame mediation from which wiſdom expected it ſhould come many years before. Now after the wily *Scot* had purged and diſcharged the *Union* from any taſte or colour of malignity towards their own Nation, they drove it on with the furiouſneſs of *Jehu*: But the *Engliſh Parliament* found Members enough intire in the duty they owed to their Country, ſo far to outvote thoſe Laymen in their integrity through the hope of preferment, as they appeared inconſiderable for Power or good conduct in the eyes of their Prince, and no leſs baſe and corrupt in thoſe of the People; upon whoſe miſcarriage all hope of good was retracted; K. *James* ſharing ſo large a proportion in the Folly of Princes, that he never gratified the Subject, but upon urgent neceſſity, or by way of Barter; which made their *Repreſentative* conſider him at beſt but in the relation of a Merchant, and themſelves as Countrymen brought up only to be couzened.

32. Yet the many no leſs bitter than rational *Speeches* made in the *Houſe of Commons* againſt this *Conjunction* could not rebate the *Scotiſh* impudence, from endeavouring to bring in by the back and formerly unknown way of *Prerogative*, that as the *Parliament*, hitherto the ſole Guard of Propriety, had refuſed all hope of entrance to, through any legal paſſage. And for the more effectual promotion of this, the *Earl of Dunbar*, making uſe of the advantage his place offered him, did ſound the *Barons* of the *Exchequer*, and though *Altam* and his Brother afforded him ſmall encouragement, *Tanfield* and

and *Snig*, the first no less famed for Corruption, than the other for Ignorance, gave him the assurance of their Compliance in Judgment: with whom *Cook* was reported to concur, though a known Antagonist to the *Chief Baron Tanfield* in most things else, wherein any difficulty did seem to appear. But though two of these had gained the height of opinion for Law in those Times, *Cook* was thought over full of levity, and both of them too low situated in honour and grace with the Nobility, to drive on so weighty and ungrateful a design, with any hope of better success than contempt, or a present confutation: wherefore the *Chancellor Egerton* was prevailed upon so far, partly out of hope, but chiefly for fear, lest the King (as after he did) should send him a *Writ of Ease*, grown now old, or by calling his corruption into question discharge him of his imployment, did undertake in the *Starchamber*, to prove in a long Speech, *That all the* Scots *born since his Majesties possession of the Crown of* England, *were legally free Denizens of this Nation*: K. *James* refusing to include those formerly in being, lest he should in his own time have tasted the bitter consequence of so unjust an intrusion upon the Liberty of that People which had without any disturbance suffered him to enter. And this Argument rendered the *Chancellor* seven times more the object of Reproach than he was before. The *Speech* being thought by the *English* above the desert of the cause, as too elaborate, considering the prejudice it brought, and by the *Scots* below it, many of his own Profession arraigning

raigning it of Ignorance and Miſtakes: But the *Commons* looked upon him as the owner not only of a brazen impudence in daring to oppoſe his ſingle opinion to a whole *Parliament*, but were ready to hiſs at the invalidity of his aſſertions; Proteſting them as much againſt Law (in which, having no skill, I ſhall not meddle) as Reaſon, Conſcience, and the general proceedings of the World both ancient and Modern.

33. The promoters of the *Union* in the *Houſe of Commons*, no leſs than the *Chancellor* in the *Houſe of Lords*, did, beſides many rebukes and ſcoffs, meet with ſome ſuch anſwers as theſe. *That ſince no* Lord *of a* Rich Mannor *would accept the offer of one more* poor, *upon the condition of enter-commoning, leſt he ſhould begger his beſt* Tenants, *without making his worſt conſiderable: ſo &c.*

That no people indued with the natural deſire of preſervation, being happy at that inſtant, would admit the Prince of a Beggerly Nation to raign over them, how juſt ſo ever his claim was, for fear of loſing their propriety, as dear as Life it ſelf, and ſo as vigorouſly to be defended.

Some Corporations explode for Foreigners ſuch as are not bred in the place; All, thoſe born out of the Nation. And if theſe laſt Objections owned a countenance ſtern enough in the Opinions of many to face the entrance of *James* himſelf, it cannot but raiſe a doubt how his admittance ſhould make way for the whole Nation to follow him.

He

He that considers the enmity that hath ever been between Scotland *and* England, *with their propensity to drive on a* Feud *through many Generations, cannot think of our mixing without trembling; there being some affinity in Bloud, Laws, Customs, and Affection betwixt the Welch and us, none with &c.*

If the French, *being in our possession, were allowed to export* Wool, Cloth, &c. *it was in lieu of* Wine *and other Commodities they brought us: But what have the* Scots *of their own growth but* Eggs, Barnicles, *and such drugs for the cure of the* Jaundies, *as may be found under our hedges, though not in so great quantities. Wherefore since in all Communities, a reciprocal Contribution is required, and without which the Body Politick cannot flourish, what an irreparable loss should we have sustained through such a Conjunction.*

The Romans *had many rich Cities, Nations, and Colonies, that were not sharers in the freedom of* Rome, *looked upon as a special favour and only Communicable at the benevolence of the* Senate; *Legible in their Story, no less than the* Scripture, *where though Saint* Paul *was free born,* Claudius Lysias *the* chief Captain, *far above him in dignity, was fain to* obtain it for a great Sum.

Though Sicily, Naples, Millain, *be within the Title, no less than Jurisdiction of the most* Catholick King, *yet these have no more power to trade in the* Indies, *than those unhappy people have to trafique in any part of* Castile.

Nature hath taught every Nation a particular

cular Ingenuity to provide for its own Neceſſities, which upon the acceſs of another, muſt be either exceeded, and ſo undone, or go beyond the new comer, and ruine him. Therefore ſince we had no want of Inhabitants of our own, ſuch a beggerly addition muſt needs be deſtructive. The Scot *like the poor* Swiſs *(yet better provided for, and nearer the Sun than he) finds a more commodious abiding under every Climate, than at home: which as it makes the* Swiſs *to venture their lives in the quarrel of any Prince for Money, ſo this Northern People are known to do, or turn* Pedlers, *being become ſo cunning through Neceſſity, that they ruine all about them: Manifeſt in* Ireland, *where they uſually ſay,* None of any other Country can proſper that comes to live within the Kenning of a *Scot.*

If our Saviour Chriſt, *the King of Kings, whoſe Treaſure can never be exhauſted, ſaid, though in another dialect,* It is not meet, *that is, not juſt nor expedient,* to give the Childrens bread to &c. *can any think it Prudent or Legal to ſhare the fruits of* England *with the* Sons *of the* Locuſts *and* Daughters *of the* Horſe-Leach.

To conclude, Reaſon would fain be ſatisfied from thoſe that maintain the Legality of the *Union. Whether, if* Queen Elizabeth *had married the* Duke of Muſcovy, *as he did by his Ambaſſadors deſire it, that whole Nation (though far above* Scotland *in value) ſhould have had a Natural Denization in* England.

34. At

34. At this time the honour of *Knighthood*, which Antiquity preserved sacred, as the cheapest and readiest *Jewel* to present *Vertue* with, was promiscuously laid on any head belonging to the *Yeomandry*, (made addle through pride and a contempt of their Ancestors Pedigree) that had but a *Court-friend*, or money to purchase the favour of the meanest able to bring him into ad outward room, when *the King*, *the Fountain of Honour* came down, and was uninterrupted by other business; in which case it was then usual for him to grant a *Commission* for the *Chamberlain*, or some other Lord to do it: But experience soon informed the empty *Scot*, that as this Airy Treasure was inexhaustible, so it might be turned to great profit, seeing the shoals of base and ignorant *Trouts* that gaped after it (the cause, access to the King was made daily more difficult:) By this rendring the *Temple of Honour* a common Theatre, into which the basest were suffered to enter for their Mony.

35. Now this shower of *Dignities* falling upon all, without any more serious consideration than favour or profit, whole Houses were ruined: For ancient *Gentlemen*, finding themselves preceded by baser Families; only for having the impudence or luck to be dub'd before them: and being despised, or spurred on through their wives ambition or their own shame, fell into that Trap gilded with the Title of *Buronnet*, for which they were to pay a *thousand pounds*, as is expressed in their *Patent*: no slight Caveat for the vanity of it: and how short

ſhort-lived that Honour muſt needs be that was built upon no ſtronger Baſis than the mercenary conſideration of ſuch a ſum; Riches for the moſt part being the lot of covetous and dejected Spirits. Beſides, Augmentation of *Titles* puts a higher Impoſition upon all expenſes; ſince he that before, being conſidered but as a *Gentleman*, could compoſe his charge within ſuch a preciſe rate, now double did not ſerve the turn: Men in honour, contrary to the elements of Frugality, being not ſeldom compelled to proportion their layings out to their Dignities, not their Port to their Ability: For *Wives, Daughters, Sons*, and *Servants* cannot all, if any do, regulate their minds to the Eſtate, but fix their eyes upon the glittering ſplendor of this new *Star of Honour*, and do by that ſteer their expenſe, till of a ſuddain they fall into ſo deep an *Ocean of Debt*, as they are never able to preſerve their ancient Lands, but are forced to ſell, die in a Priſon, or play at Bo-peep all the remainder of their days with their Creditors in *London*.

36. *Baronies*, *Earldoms*, *&c.* were ſold to the *Engliſh* that had wherewithal to buy them in any of the three Nations; But the *Scots*, the principal Actors in this Comedy of Pride, were allowed a free entrance into the Houſes of Dignity at their pleaſure. And here may be obſerved upon what baſe and unequal terms the *Engliſh* were dealt withal, that had no place in the *Parliament of Scotland*, though made *Barons* there; yet ſuch of that Nation as owned the like Titles here; were not only called by

Writ

Writ to the *House of Lords*, but sate in the *Star-Chamber*; a Court I do not remember to have seen any *Scots* appear in as Criminals, many as Judges.

37. The palpable partiality that descended from the *Father* to the *Scots*, did estate the whole love of the *English* upon his *Son Henry*: whom they engaged by so much expectation, as it may be doubted, whether it ever lay in the power of any Prince meerly humane, to bring so much felicity into a Nation, as they did all his Life propose to themselves at the Death of King *James*. For my own particular, though I may concur so far with the general voice of the whole Kingdom, as to allow him the highest Epithets belonging to an active, generous and Noble Cavalier, yet I want not cause in experience, by suspending my future Judgment, to avoid their common mistake, who think all such Vertues lost in the untried dead, as are found absent in him that had the luck to succeed: It being the usual condition of these high Planets, to conceal all Malignity in their temper, till by the Suns setting they become supreme themselves, and have the rains in their own hands: For before they can never think they are secure, nor after apprehend a possibility of losing their power. The cause many Princes let their Passions loose towards all excess and impieties, when their Country hath most use of their temperance and moderation. I say not this out of any propensity to their Opinions who are apt to prognosticate a future ill out of the present shew of Good-

Goodneſs in men ſo highly bred, or to rob him of the happineſs to be allowed virtuous, which deſcends to all from Charity till the contrary appears: But to juſtifie the truth of *Story*, where you may find *as few abominable Princes, as tolerable Kings.*

The reaſon may be, an advantage they have to ſee what is diſguſted in their Father, which is avoided for the preſent, more out of popularity than diſlike: For though *Abſolon*, to attain his ends, might appear a better Juſticer than *David*, it is great odds but upon ſucceſs he had proved as Tyrannical as *Solomon* or *Rehoboam*. Beſides the terrible condition a *Prince* for the moſt part lives in, ſince an ordinary Father puniſheth that in his Son with a gentle reproof, which Kings are often known to do by a mortal Poyſon. The truth is, *Prince Henry* never arrived at the great teſt, *Supremacy in Power*, that leaves the will wholly to its own guidance; being not only ſet out of the reach of Reproof, but hears his actions approved by ſome, though in their true nature they appear never ſo ugly.

38. The *Government of his Houſe* was with much *Diſcretion, Modeſty, Sobriety*, and (which was looked upon as too great an upbraiding the contrary proceedings of his Fathers) in an high reverence to *Piety*, not ſwearing himſelf, or keeping any that did: Through which he came to be advanced beyond an ordinary meaſure in the affections of the *City*; for whom he was not only plauſible in his carriage, but juſt in payments, ſo far as his credit out-reached the Kings both in the *Exchange* and the *Church*.

In

In which the Son could not take so much Felicity, as the Father did discontent, to find all the worth he imagined in himself, wholly lost in the hopes the people had of this young Gentleman. From whence *Kings* may be concluded far more unhappy than ordinary men; for though, whilst *Children* are young they may afford them safety, yet when arrived at that age which useth to bring comfort to other Parents, they produce only Jealousies and Fears: For if deformed, foolish, or vicious, they offend the natural disposition of a Father, who cannot but desire his Issue perfect; if they prove otherwise, and be excellent, that of a Prince; because his Raign must needs be thought dim and tedious who hath such a spark to succeed him as this *Henry*, which in all mens Judgment appeared more Illustrious than his old Father. Thus are Kings found as remote from Felicity with Children, as from safety without: And as the last of these considerations have tempted some to acknowledge the Issue of Strangers and such as their Wives have come to by chance; so the first hath provoked as many to make away their own.

And, if common Fame did not out-strip Truth, King *James* was by fear led into this extreme: finding his Son *Henry* not only averse to any *Popish match*, but saluted by the *Puritans* as one prefigured in the *Apocalyps* for *Romes* destruction. And to parallel this, one *Ball* a Taylor was inspired with a like Lunacy, though something more chargeable; for not only he, but *Ramsey* his Majesties Watch-maker, put out Mony and Clocks, to be paid (but with small

advantage

advantage, conſidering the improbability) when King *James* ſhould be crowned in the *Popes Chair*. Nor did *Henry* carry his body ſo ſwimming, as the known depth of his Fathers jealouſies and ſhallowneſs of his Fears did require, contemning ſo far at firſt his election of *Somerſet*, as he was reported either to have ſtrook him on the Back with his Racket, or very hardly forbore it. But who can expect a *Prince* ſhould prove any thing, conſidering his *Education*, much leſs a Polititian? The *Laſt Earl of Eſſex* being his Play-fellow, and few Gentlemen of worth, his Council, though many his Attendants: It being in no caſe ſafe to adviſe a *Prince* during the life of his *Father*, nothing remaining in prudence poſſible to be ſaid in relation to his ſafety, but muſt reflect upon the honour of the King, or the prudence of himſelf: The ſmalleſt intimation in that kind falling (if revealed, and what can youth and folly conceal) within the compaſs of *Treaſon*. It is ſo common with Report to rate the *ſickneſs* or *death* of *Princes* at the price of *Poyſon*, as I ſhould quite have omitted this conjecture, or left it wholly to the deciſion of Poſterity; though I believe few Kings are by their Servants (whoſe eyes are more fixed upon Hope, which relates to the future, than Gratitude, by the Generality of Courtiers declined, as not reſpecting the preſent Time) ſo fairly dealt withal at that Article, in which meaner men receive Indulgence from Enemies; had I not heard by many, his Father did dread him, and in particular from Mr. *Primroſe* the Princes Foſter-brother of high eſteem

eſteem with him; and that the King though he would not deny any thing he plainly deſired, yet it appeared rather the reſult of fear and outward compliance, than love or natural affection; being harder drawn to confer an Honour or Pardon, in caſes of deſert, upon a Retainer to the Prince, than a Stranger. From whence might be calculated a Malignity conceived in his heart againſt the Splendor of his Sons Retinue; Manifeſted after his death by an injunction to *Charles Duke of York*, and a Command he gave to the *Lord Chamberlain* of the Kings Houſe, not to ſuffer any to be enrolled his Sons Servants, without his knowledge. And though this may warrant the Reaſonableneſs of their Judgments who did look upon *Henry* rather as a terrour, than a comfort to the King, yet he did not take any viſible notice of the great concourſe about him, till by *Archy* his Jeſter he was called to the obſervation of it on the Plains about *New-Market* when he and the Prince parted: few being left with the Father and thoſe mean perſons, which drew tears from him; but the paſſion did not laſt long, nor he when he had recollected himſelf, forbear (which might have increaſed the ſuſpition of the conſequence) to reprove the Fellow, who, being *more Scot than Fool*, was able to mind one that filled a wiſer room that it is the *Religion of ſome Nations, but the Cuſtom of all, to adore the riſing Sun, and contemn him at his going down.* I confeſs I did my ſelf queſtion *Archy* long after about it, but he talked though in in the affirmative ſo loud and wildly that I

was afraid to waken the attentions of the Standers by. This I have heard by divers, that he was after every night they could meet him toſſed like a Dog in a Blanket. The *Prince died* at Saint *James*'s, having all his ſickneſs no pain but in his head, being heart-whole to the laſt. Sir *Theodore Mayern* a French Phyſician and in great eſteem would have had him let bloud, but the *Engliſh* did reject the Counſel as too deſperate, in reſpect of themſelves, who might poſſibly offend no leſs by his recovery, than *death*; *ordinarily imputed to thoſe Phyſitians that meet with Patients who do not recover after the opening a vein.* I remember Sir *Walter Rawly* before his going to *Guiana* (to whom Prince *Henry* was a great Friend, and for whoſe ſatisfaction he penned his Hiſtory &c.) owned, though not in full words at length, as much in ſubſtance as was then every where reported. But when I reach the misfortunes of *Robert Carre*, (if they may be called ſo, that at the worſt exceeded the beſt his birth could promiſe) I may have occaſion to ſay more.

39. In the mean time the reaſon King *James* was ſo poorly followed, eſpecially in his Journies, was his partiality uſed towards the *Scots*, which hung like Horſe-leeches on him, till they could get no more, falling then off by retiring into their own Country, or living at eaſe, leaving all chargeable attendance to the *Engliſh*. The harveſt of the Love and Honour he reaped being ſutable to the ill huſbandry he uſed in the unadviſed diſtribution of his favours: For of a number of empty veſſels he filled to compleat the

the measure of our Infelicity, few proved of use to him, unless such as by reason of their vast runnings out had daily need of a new supply: And amongst these the *Earl of Carlisle* was one of the *Quorum*, that brought in the Vanity of *Ante-Suppers*, not heard of in our Fore-fathers time, and for ought I have read; or at least remember, unpractised by the most luxurious Tyrants. The manner of which was, to have the board covered at the first entrance of the Ghests with dishes as high as a tall man could well reach, filled with the choicest and deerest viands Sea or Land could afford: And all this once seen, and having feasted the eyes of the Invited, was in a manner thrown away, and fresh set on to the same height, having only this advantage of the other, that it was hot. I cannot forget one of the attendants of the King, that at a Feast, made by this Monster in excess, eat to his single share a whole Pie reckoned to my Lord at ten Pounds, being composed of Amber-greece, Magesterial of Pearl, Musk, &c. yet was so far (as he told me) from being sweet in the morning, that he almost poisoned his whole Family, flying himself like the Satyr from his own stink. And after such Suppers huge Banquets no less profuse, a Waiter returning his Servant home with a Cloak-bag full of dried Sweet-meats and Confects, valued to his Lordship at more then ten shillings the pound. I am cloid with the repetition of this excess, no less than scandalized at the continuance of it. For when the most able Physitians and his own weakness had passed a judgment, he could not live many days, he did

not forbear his entertainments, but made divers brave clothes, as he ſaid, *to out-face naked and deſpicable Death withal:* blaſpheming God ſo far in the perſon of his handmaid *Nature*, as to ſay *ſhe wanted Wiſdom, Love, or Power, in making man Mortal and ſubject to diſeaſes*; forgetting that if every Individual his own luſt had been able to have produced ſhould have proſecuted an equal exceſs with his, they would in a far leſs time than an Age, have brought themſelves or the World into the ſame diſeaſe he died of, which was a Conſumption. He lay always under the comfortable aſpect of King *James* his favour, though I never found him in his boſom, a place reſerved for younger men and of more indearing Countenances: and theſe went under the appellation of his *Favorites* or *Minions*, who like *Burning-glaſſes* were daily interpoſed between him and the Subject, multiplying the heat of oppreſſions in the general opinion, though in his own he thought they ſcreened them from reflecting upon the Crown: through the fallacy of which *Maxim* his Son came to be ruined, it being unlikely any Prince ſhould abate in the account of his People, that hath no bodies expences or faults to reckon for but his own. Now as no other Reaſon appeared in favour of their choice but *handſomneſs*, ſo the love the K. ſhewed was as amorouſly conveyed as if he had miſtaken their Sex, and thought them Ladies. Which I have ſeen *Somerſet* and *Buckingham* labour to reſemble, in the effeminateneſs of their dreſſings. Though in w--looks and wanton geſtures they exceeded any part of Woman-kind my Converſation did ever

cope

cope withal. Nor was his love, or what elſe poſterity will pleaſe to call it, (who muſt be the Judges of all that Hiſtory ſhall inform) carried on with a diſcretion ſufficient to cover a leſs ſcandalous behaviour; for the Kings kiſſing them after ſo laſcivious a mode in publick, and upon the Theatre as it were of the World, prompted many to imagine ſome things done in the *Tyring-houſe*, that exceed my expreſſions no leſs than they do my experience: and therefore left floting upon the Waves of Conjecture, which hath in my hearing toſſed them from one ſide to another.

40. I have heard that Sir *Henry Rich*, ſince *Earl of Holland*, and ſome others refuſed his Majeſties favour upon thoſe conditions they ſubſcribed to, who filled that place in his Affection: *Rich* loſing that opportunity his curious Face and Complection afforded him, by turning aſide and ſpitting after the King had ſlabbered his mouth: who though numbred amongſt the Gods upon Earth, yet any that will be ſo inquiſitive as to rake in his duſt, may find as many frailties as ever man ſtood charged with, of which this was none of the lighteſt, doubling the weight of his Oppreſſion: For the ſetting up of theſe *Golden Calves* coſt *England* more than Queen *Elizabeth* ſpent in all her Wars.

41. Amongſt a number of other Novelties he brought *a new Holy-day* into the Church of *England*, wherein God had publick thanks given him for his Majeſties deliverance out of the hands of E. *Goury*: and this fell out upon the 5. of *Aug.* on which many lies were told either at home or abroad in the Quire of S. *Pauls Church*, or the

long Walk: For no *Scotch* man you could meet beyond Sea but did laugh at it, and the Peripatetick Polititians said the Relation in Print did murder all possibility of Credit. But I will not wade farther in this business, not knowing how dangerous the bottom may prove, being by all mens relations foul and bloody; having nothing to paliate it but Jealousie on the one side, and Fear on the other; too weak supporters to keep upright so great a ——— especially so far as to ruine a whole and noble Family for a fault known to be committed without the least question. Now if any thing farther deserves consideration, it is the misfortune of Kings, who once lapsed into a publick errour, cannot recal it, though the continuance of it reflect dishonour to God; not unpossibly the cause this held out all his raign. Nor did any credit his Son gave it, justifie it farther than ordinary Report, which in the generality took it for a meer Figment of State, and was buried with its Author.

42. Nor will the Story of the *Lord Treasurer Buckhurst* fall in unproperly here, who being a very corrupt man, or much abused, did lay claim to some part of the Kentish *Lucies* Land, that lay contiguous to his own, and mistrusting the integrity of any other or more legal Trial, did by the highness of his hand bring it to the *Council-Table* (where about this time many Causes were shamefully carried, and from whence *the most excellent Chancellor for parts*, that ever sate in that Court, might derive the most capital of his faults) and after some debate, the

the Treaſurer ſtanding up and offering to pull out of his boſom Papers that were pretended for their Lordſhips full and final ſatisfaction, he fell down dead as called to anſwer at a higher Tribunal. Neither hath any ſince, as I have been told by ſome of the Family, ever queſtioned *Lucies* Land, in the quiet poſſeſſion of which he was thus miraculouſly eſtated. Some years after meeting with the Secretary of *Richard Earl of Dorſet* (a noble Gentleman and of good parts had they not been poiſoned, together with the Owner, by a future malice and Jealouſie in the *Duke of Buckingham* that he was his enemy) he told me the Treaſurer was ſubject to ſwounding, which happening in a place where there was ſo little help, it became his death. He was much given to *Women* and *Corruption*, in the general opinion; after whom theſe *Verſes* were ſent, it being the faſhion of the Poets all my days, to ſum up great mens Vertues or Vices upon their Graves. Theſe with many more to a like ſenſe belonging to this man.

Diſcourteous Death *that wouldſt not once confer,*
Or daign to parly with our Treaſurer:
Had he been Thee, or of thy fatal Tribe,
He would have ſpar'd a life to gain a bribe.

Another,

Here lies a Lord that Wenching *thought no ſin,*
And bought his fleſh by ſelling of our skin:

His Name was Sackvile, *and so void of pity*
As he did rob the Country with the City.

43. The *match* K. *James* made between *Elizabeth* his eldest Daughter and the *Elector of Rhyne*, contrary to the grain of the *Catholick Church*, and the desires of her *Mother*, who looked upon it so much below her, as she could not refrain to call her *Goodwife Palsgrave* before she had put off her wedding shoos, bred at a distance, such a hope in the *Hugonots* that remained yet under persecution or restraint, and pride in those already emancipated through their Governours licorishness after the choice morsels of the Church, and their own desire to change their manner of Service, (grown foul in their opinions, an unavoidable result of time, especially if prompted by more Learning than discretion) that they feasted their Imaginations with all the miraculous felicities and deliverances, by the divers into the deep mysteries of *Daniel* and the *Revelation* supposed to be reserved in the bottom of all things: *The fall of the Pope* and those principalities adhering to him, appearing as manifestly painted in their oyly fansies, as the curious may find them in *H. Broughton*, or the frontispieces of divers books the zeal of some, and licentiousness of others did then make publick: which strook a damp in the *German Cæsars* affairs, causing the Exchange to go high in the Diets, so as upon the demands of Contribution, though against the *Turk*, a greater liberty of conscience was propounded by the followers of *Luther* and *Calvin*, and some suspition of change feared from those not yet revolted. But how-

however this might work to the disadvantage of our K. judgment abroad (who was thought to do it to render himself the Umpire of all Christian differences, which he much delighted in, no less than a confidence he had to bring all to one conformity, a project not to be cut off but with the head of &c.) it setled it much in the opinion of his Subjects, who in the *H. of Commons* did upon all occasions testifie their compliance to this conjunction. Now whether it was hope or fear, according to the opinion of the *Catholicks* and *Polititians*, or a supine careleſsneſs and deſire to be rid of her with the leaſt expence, as all the Ladies friends ſuggeſted, or pure zeal to *Religion*, as ſome ſimple people thought, or, what was moſt probable, a compoſition of all the three firſt mentioned paſſions, induced the K. to ſubmit to ſuch mean conditions, I leave to the Reader to judge: and only obſerve that, though in relation to Perſon and Vertue, ſhe might deſervedly hold a room in the greateſt Prince's Bed in *Europe*; yet God hath not hitherto been pleaſed to afford her any outward bleſſing, but a multitude of children, of which the eldeſt was unfortunately drowned, not without ſome reproach to the Father, and diminution of the reſt in the opinion of the People, that do, though not ſeldom without cauſe, over-value any thing irrecoverably loſt; and now at laſt hath caſt her into an Ocean of calamities, in which ſhe ſtill remains a floting example to other Princes of the Inſtability of Fortune, as ſhe did in her proſperity for civility and goodneſs. And though none need ſeek far for reaſons why Judgments ſhould fall upon

Judgments saw it no hard matter to determine of his fortune, whose good or bad success lay wholly in his hands.

45. I have had the most, if not all may be found here, out of *Letters*, which I ever looked upon as the best and purest intelligence; in one of which I had this inserted, that Prince *Henry* gave the first incouragement to the Prince *Elector* to attempt his Sister, desiring more to head an Army in *Germany*, than he durst make shew of, and would no doubt have been bravely followed. That his thoughts flew high, hundreds of his Servants are yet in being to witness, together with the love he seemed to bear his *Sister*, before his *Brother*; whom he would often taunt till he made him weep, telling him *he should be a Bishop*, a Gown being the fittest to hide his Legs, subject in his Childhood to be crooked. Nor did all this put together lengthen his life in the desires of many. Besides, I have been told that Sir *Walter Rawley* did mediate his favour by a *Discourse* he sent him, proving *no War could be so necessary or advantagious for* England, *as one with* Spain; alledging for it many Reasons and Examples, as well out of the practice of the late Queen, as his own Experience: no Prince else being able to pay for, or bear the expence of a Royal Navy, which once in a year he would without question accomplish by our intercepting some or most part of the *Plate Fleet*, all Nations besides being but Sea Pedlars. Wherefore if *Philip the second* cut off his own hopeful and only Son *Charles*, for but pitying the people of *Flanders*, it can

can be no wonder he ſhould promote the deſtruction of a Stranger that did ſo far applaud the advice of *Rawley*, as to ſay *No King but his Father would keep ſuch a Bird in a Cage.* But to leave this to the faith of Poſterity that ſhall have not only the opportunity to ſee, but the liberty to judge of the moſt probability in every Relation; the actions of Kings being written in ſuch dark Characters, and relating to ſo many ſeveral ends, as they are not eaſily deciphered; I ſhall return to the *German affairs*, towards which had *England* contributed proportionably to the *Head of an Union*, it may be preſumed from the *King of Swedens* ſucceſs, who had at the beginning no ſuch advantages to relie on, that the eclipſing if not the ruine of the Houſe of *Auſtria* had not been adjourned to ſo long a day. And he that ſhall turn over the Adviſo's of thoſe times may without any danger or much trouble find what Opinion the *Germans* had of us, and in how great a diſaray it caſt their proceedings, when the ſmalneſs of the Lord *Veres* Forces were known, but when they read a Commiſſion only inabling him to do nothing, they apprehended themſelves, ſome out of malice betrayed, others that knew the temper of King *James* better, were ſo charitable as to impute it to the true cauſe, which was his fear, upon whoſe Altar he was not only ready to ſacrifice his preſent honour and future ſafety, but the bloud of thoſe he ſtiles, in all his Manifeſto's, *his deareſt Children.*

46. For after his daughter, and the *Elector* were

were crowned *King* and *Queen* of *Bohemia*, they loſt together with this ſhadow all her ſubſtance, and what he was for ſo many deſcents born to; the *Palatinate* at the Battail of *Prague*, where few blows were dealt on the *Electors* ſide, reported to be ſo mad as to think the Souldier would venture his Life in a Cauſe where he whom it moſt concerned was afraid to hazard his money; It being then too late to ſpare, when Honour and Fortune lye at the ſtake. By which this miſerable Prince did not only loſe what he might poſſibly have gained, but moſt of the wealth he deſired to ſave; no Paſſions being obſerved ſo incompatible with ſucceſs, as when Ambition like that of *Galba's*, is found in a covetous nature; by which the Souldier is not ſeldom tempted out of diſdain to quit his own Poſt, and adhere to a Party he never did, till the diſcovery of this baſe humour, affect ſo well as that he deſerts. Nor is it likely any ſhould proſper (eſpecially in a Field expedition) againſt the *Houſe of Auſtria*, that is not as prodigal of Gold as Bloud: it having been the late practice of this wiſe Nation to obtain Victory through the Mediation of Money and Policie, rather than Strength; leaving nothing to Fortune but what ſhe muſt needs: which may ſupport the validity of their Opinions that think the *Spaniard* leaſt impregnable at Sea, where he hath neither time nor opportunity to corrupt, &c.

47. Sir *Richard Weſton*, ſince *Treaſurer* and *Earl of Portland*, was when they looked for an Army ſent, to mediate a Peace: By whoſe help, accor-

according to report, the *Elector* and his *Lady* found means, though with much difficulty, to escape to the *Hague* with their new assumed empty Titles, having nothing else to support them but Patience and Hope, the only and ordinary comfort of those deprived of all help besides. Yet I have heard from many (for I delight to set down every probable relation) that they thought *Weston* too far engaged to the Catholicks to be Author of so ungrateful a service. But this being his first Imployment, no less than a desire in the *Pope* to see the power of the *Emperour* moderated, who began to encroach upon the pretended immunities of the Church, he might not improbably take this advantage to render his Embassie the more acceptable upon his return to the People of *England*, if not to the King: Persons of their Quality falling seldom under the Sword, and therefore thought perhaps better thrift to maintain them at liberty than in restraint, or redeem them at such a ransome as a Victorious Prince might impose, to the payment of which his Master was engaged in Honour and Nature.

48. However I am more charitable than to conclude all Papists imployed by this King so dishonest as to falsifie their trust: for if that followed as a necessary consequence, God help this poor Nation, that had before then, and long after, few Commissioned in any affair of importance but such as were that way affected or wholly indifferent. It being the intent of Providence to use his help, it may be, as he did of *Pharaoh's Daughter*, to preserve this virtuous Lady

Lady out of danger, whose Misfortunes have kindled such a fire in *Germany*, as not unpossibly, before it be extinguished, may lick up the choicest bloud in the *Austrian Family*: Of which this seems to me as a sign, that ever since they began some one or other hath prosecuted the like attempt: Amongst whom was *Count Mansfield*, that had little else but his own fortune and valour to carry him so far as he went. But what he punctually did or promised to do, was at too great a distance for me to perceive more than I could learn from the Eccho it made at Court, which sounded diversly according to the inclinations and hollowness of their hearts that made the reverberation. This I can attest upon knowledge, that *Mansfield* was in appearance well received here: But whether King *James* could like a man that laboured to bring in so Anti-monarchical a precedent, as to struggle for liberty with his Native Prince, I cannot but question; who did daily inculcate into the people, through the mediation of his Divines, and by the terrour of the Law, that no other refuge was left in any saving experiment during the unjustest and most cruel Tyranny, but *Prayers and Tears*; A tenet if he had believed himself, or thought such as owned either prudence or power did, he would doubtless have governed much better, or abused the Nation, and debauched his succession much worse. Yet to give a countenance to a business he had so shamefully disparaged before, he sent for the *Count* over in one of his Ships Royal, which was cast away upon the *English* Coast; an example as remote from a Pre-

a Precedent, as for a mighty Prince to be a quiet Spectator of the ruine of his Family.

Such as were of the *Spaniſh* Faction ſpake moſt diſgracefully of *Count Mansfield:* forgeting the lower footing they aſſigned for his riſe, the more admirable they proclaimed his dexterity in mounting himſelf ſo high; who at his going from hence was furniſhed with men and money, the moſt of them loſt before their Landing: ſuch proceedings being much in uſe with King *James*, who like a ready Horſe, did often ſeem to the World as if he meant to run, yet did little more in effect than ſtand ſtill. But here my Pen is ſtopped through indiſpoſition; wherefore I muſt conclude this under the notion at leaſt of a Firſt Part.

FINIS.

A

MISCELLANY

OF SUNDRY

Essaies, Paradoxes,

AND

Problematical Discourses, Letters and Characters;

Together with

Political Deductions from the HISTORY of the Earl of *Essex*, Executed under Q. ELIZABETH.

By FRANCIS OSBORN Esq;

LONDON,
Printed in the Year, 1673.

Wherefore (ſince the *worſt* can be found in theſe Papers, if candidly taken, does not come ſhort of ſome of the *beſt* are daily made vendible,) I deſire you to vail your *Judgment* with *Charity*; known in *remoter Relations* ſo *extenſive* as to cover more *Levity* than I hope is *extant here*: Or if bleered by *Intereſt*, I ſhould miſtake no leſs in its *own deſert*, than the *acceptance* of the *World*, it cannot *diſparage* your *Name* long; which no doubt will ſuddenly be *changed*, and you left *free*, either to *own* or *reject* what is here preſented: unleſs *God* for the *puniſhment* of the *preſent Age* will make *men unwilling*, becauſe *unworthy* to approach ſo much *Vertue*, and other *excellencies* as are *natural* in *you*; the *repetition* of which would not only call up the *bloud* into *your face*, but *confound mine*, were I guilty of half the *infidelity* in your *Sex*, that *ignorance*, *folly* and *malice* hath *voted* to my *ſhare*: who am ſo *zealous* through the *mediation of your perfections* in the *vindication* of *Women*, that I am not only ready to become a *Convert*, but a *Martyr*, rather than *appear* any thing but, *Dear Neece*,

Your Servant

FR. OSBORN.

A general Account of what is contained in the BOOK ensuing.

THe Preface.

An Essay *on such as condemn all they understand not a reason for.*

An Essay *upon* Prov. 8. 30. Give me neither Poverty nor Riches.

A Contemplation of Adams *Fall.*

Sundry Conjectural Paradoxes concerning Reason, Learning, &c.

A Character of Honour.

Valour and Cowardice.

A Letter writ to dissuade Mr. —— *from a Duel.*

A Letter to Mr. —— *in hope to dissuade him from going a Colonel under Count* Mansfield.

A Letter to Mr. W. P. *concerning dependences upon great men.*

—— *Another to the same person.*

A Copy of Verses to —— *who had translated* Virgil *into* English.

A Letter perswading — *to marry.*

Verses upon sundry occasions.

A Letter to two Sisters, the one black, the other fair.

With Verſes.
A Letter to — after the death of his Lady.
An Epitaph on —
The Authors own Epitaph.
A Letter to diſſwade — from marrying a rich, but ugly and deformed —
With Verſes to the ſame effect.
A Letter in reference to a coy Lady.
The Petition.
A Character on a deboſhed Souldier.
A Letter to Dr. C. H. Chap. to W. E. of Pem.
With Verſes.
On a Cook.
A Character of an Hoſt.
With Verſes.
Deductions from the Hiſtory of the Earl of Eſſex.
Eſſay *on Court-factions.*
Eſſay, *that the condition of men in power is to be guided by their ſervants.*

THE

THE AUTHOUR TO THE READER.

READers in the generality do not ſtudy (eſpecially in reference to *Contemporaries*) what may *benefit* themſelves, but *blemiſh* the preſent *Authors* repute. So as the Pillars of *Fame* and *Protection*, that led our *Fathers* through the dark Wilderneſs of *Ignorance*, into the glorious *Land of the Living* (where they ſtill *inhabit*, though under no more *authentick Charter* than that of *Preſcription*, being in all other evidences of *worth matched*, if not *exceeded* by *younger men:*) are clouded through reproaches, and forced to *correſpond* for the *Integrity* of every Line by *Truths* moſt Capital Enemies, *Hypocriſie*, *Superſtition* and *Folly:* And before ſuch *partial* and weak *Tribunals*

nals as are *ſuborned* no leſs than *guided* by *Intereſt*, and an awful *reverence* towards the moſt deformed Antiquity; from whence the *Pen* (accounted by *Cæſar* a decent *Companion* for the *Scepter*) is now become the *Bubble* of the *Rabble*: Forgetting that though it may be ſo in the management of *Fools*, yet that no *vertuous acts* can be *regiſtred*, or *Learning maintained* but through *her mediation*: Nor is the progreſs of *conjectural Propoſitions* to be *obſtructed*, but rather *indulged* in reference to the credit of a Nation. The firſt *Idea* often owning the *glory* of the *whole deſign*; manifeſt in *Germany*, that may not unpoſſibly ſtand more obliged for her rare *Inventions* to the *Liberty* ſhe *gives*, and an *Indulgence* the Inhabitants have for any *Novelty*, though too weak to extend *probability* beyond the *fantaſie* of the *firſt projector*; than any *natural fertility* inherent in the place, appears in the *perfection* they receive from *politer Regions*; being themſelves ſo far from caſting *Dirt* or *Ink* in the face of the *Party*, that in the leaſt caſe of likelihood they do all lend *aſſiſtance*: contrary to the *baſer practice* of *England*, where if a *Spirit* be found ſo prevalent in *Reaſon* as to be proof againſt any *Reply*, it is uſual for the Oppoſers of *Knowledge* to *impetrate* their *revenge* from ſome weak *adminiſtrator of the power of Ignorance*.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* was the firſt (as I have heard) that ventured to rack about, and ſail aloof from the beaten track of the *Schools*: who upon the diſcovery of ſo apparent an *errour* as *a Torrid Zone*, intended to proceed in an inquiſition after

after more *solid Truths*: Till the mediation of some whose *Livelyhood* lay in hammering *shrines* for this *superannuated study*, possessed Queen *Elizabeth*, that such *Doctrine* was against *God* no less than her *Fathers Honour*, whose *Faith* (if he *owed* any) was grounded upon *School Divinity*. Whereupon she *chid* him: who was (by his own confession) ever after *branded* with the title of an *Atheist*, though a known *asserter* of *God* and *Providence*.

A *like censure* fell to the share of venerable *Bacon*, till over-balanced by a greater weight of *glory* from *Strangers*: Nor could Desert and the name of the *English Jewel*, given *Selden* beyond Sea, *free* him from a *like imputation* at home. Wherefore *Br. Ca. Di. Ho. Has Hi. St. Ta.* and a *number more* that have *Imbellished* this *doting Age* with new notions, may apprehend *comfort* from *this contemplation*, that *Fame* is no less *eternal* than *Detraction* is *Mortal*. Though it may be thought *strange* why any farther *prosecution* of *Truth* should be *persecuted* amongst men not yet fully *resolved* what *it is*? when nothing redounded more to the *Protestants honour*, than the *free passage* they have *always* given to *Books* of *Controversies*, whereas the *reading* of them is a *mortal Sin* in *Rome*, and *at best*, liable to the *Inquisition*: not to be *imputed* to any thing but the invincible *Reason* we have *on our side*, so well managed by Mr. *Chillingworth*, as the fluent mouths of the *Jesuits* were stopped till his *death*, and some time after. There being nothing but *Mathematical demonstrations*

ſtrations able to drive them from the *ambiguous interpretations* they put both upon *Scripture* and *Fathers*, behind which the *Papacie* hath for many Centuries played at *Bo-peep* with *State* and *Church*. And yet how this *poor man* was *abuſed* at his *death*, is more for the Nations credit to *conceal* than *publiſh*. Neither is this *frenzy* capable of any real *Reformation*, ſince thoſe pretend to a power of *garbling* things brought to the *Preſs*, are not all of *one* and the ſame *Judgment*: and from whoſe *diviſions* new *Books* run the fortune of the *middle-aged* man in the *Fable*, that became *bald*, by an endeavour to *gratifie* the humours of perſons *inconſiderable* for *weight* or *number*. I know *cenſures* do not all fall within the Circuit of one *Meridian*, yet am as certain, that no *Diſpute* can be maintained, but where *half*, if not the *moſt* curious part, is ſupported by *Conjecture*. And that our beſt *Phyſical Concluſions* have been deduced out of *meer miſtakes*: which the *World* (though never ſo long lived) is not likely to *want*, and therefore *improbably* proclaimed at her *fartheſt extent* of *Knowledge*: which if true, few would *give*, or *increaſe* the ſtipends of *Arts*; it being incongruous to expect new *Honour* from thoſe confeſs themſelves not able to *augment* their own, and ſo far *diffident* of an ability to match the *Ancients*, as they take the *indeavour* not only for *impoſſible*, but a *high* if not a *damnable preſumption*. Wherefore it ſuits *Univerſity*-Intereſt to *indulge* ſuch as bring *freſh notions* to their *Mill*, though *ſmutted* with ſome *errors*: It being *uſual* for *wages to ceaſe*,

ceaſe, and an *Engine* to be *neglected*, upon the firſt diſcovery that the *work* is *finiſhed*: Not to be denied to *follow* an *oppoſing* what is already *arrived to a general acceptance*; eſpecially in an *Age* when *God* and the *Magiſtrate* lies *blaſphemed* on *every Stall*. Nor is the *knavery* of obſcure *Stationers* a ſmall *Remora* to *Deſert*; that in *envy* to thoſe of their *own Trade*, and to *debauch* the eſteem of *Books*, do *encourage*, if not *hire*, foul-mouthed *Ballad-makers* to *ruffle*, *dogs-ear*, and *contaminate* by *baſe Language* and ſpurious *cenſures* the *choiceſt leaves*. Yet the *Blaſphemers* againſt the *Spirit* of *Knowledge* become *vendible* in reference to *their names* they pretend in their *Title-page* to *confute*, ſometime the *Trade* of *Al. Ro.* who uſed to *skirmiſh* (though only armed with a *blunt quill*, and a *duller Reaſon*) the *Worthies* of our *Nation* by *Troops*. Nor is it probable any farther attempt upon our *Engliſh* Affairs ſhould be purchaſed cheaper than at the *Writers* prejudice: Since ſo *honeſt* an *endeavour* as the proving, it was the *Father* that eat the *ſower Grapes*, and not the *Son*, whoſe Teeth were ſet an edge, is by ſome ſo far perverted. Now in reference to this, or any thing elſe may relate *to me*, If my *Tears* and *Infirmities* that ſtand ready at the gate to hurry me out of this *World*, nor the many *lines* I have *drawn* ſuitable to the *general phantaſies*, with a *proteſtation* never to *treſpaſs* again upon *Love* or *Hiſtory*, cannot ſhrowd me from the *pelting* of *Tongues*; Let me humbly implore this *favour* of both *Sexes*, that ſuch as do it, would imitate the candor of a *Carnaval*, where-

in

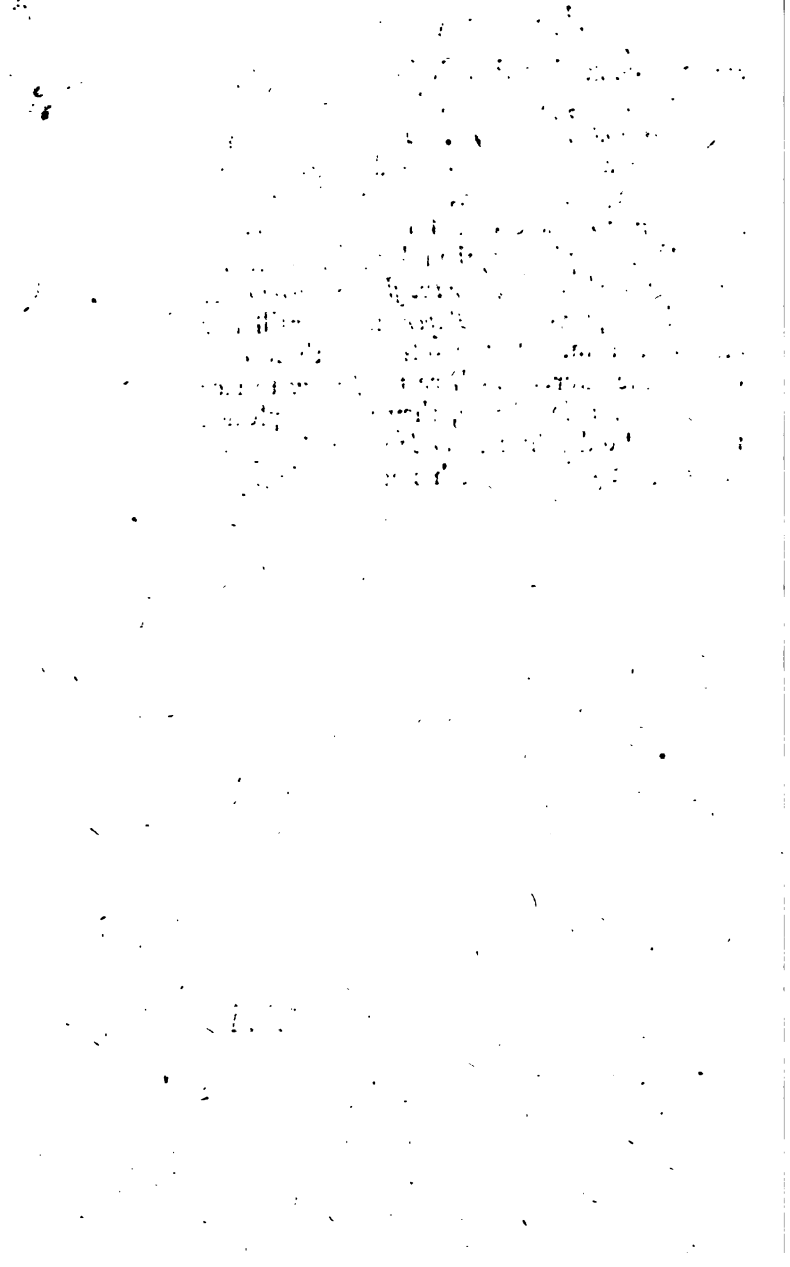
in (though all *Italy* appear but *one* intire *Bedlam*) nothing is thrown, but what savours more of *Musk* than *Malice*. But if I am born to be *aspersed*, I could wish it might be with such *Ink* as may at least *beautifie* the *Writer*, and not *contaminate* us *both*: it being an *injury*, though far below the *sufferers revenge*, to be *pinched* between the *nasty finger* and *thumb* of a *brawny Ignorance*. Which heightens greatly the *obligation* to him that *for my sake* undertook so *unworthy an Antagonist*: Whose *want* of a *true knowledge* of *me* hath led him into as great an *excess* in reference to *my Commendations*, as the like *defect* may not unpossibly have *exposed* me to a censure of *ungratitude*, or made me (as verily I believe I am) too *sparing in his*: A *fault* I promise to *amend* upon the least intimation of an occasion.

Now being compelled to *own* what follows, or to *venture* the having it laid at *my door* with all the *Imperfections* so many *Adulterated Transcriptions* have *Deformed* it with; I thought it less *Dishonourable* to trespass upon *Gravity* (a *Defect* in *Nature*, or at best but a *Ceremony* resulting from the *Morosity of Age*) than to offer violence to *Prudence*, the most *signal advantage* deducible from *Time*:) by denying my hand to the *emendation* of a *subreptitious Copy*, which I verily believe my *Youth* (though *foolish* enough) was not in probability likely to have been *guilty* of, yet must have had my *abilities* now *measured* by it. For the *sufficiency* of which I shall not *correspond*, having been led through *necessity* and others *perswasions*, rather than my

own,

own, to think that though they are *out of Fashion* with *me*, they may become *decent* for *others* to *follow* or *avoid*. Being in every respect else a meer *Patient*, and no otherways *active* than at the request, and for satisfying the *Stationer*, to whose care I leave you, without any other *Complement*, than that *the loss will not be great to the buyer, nor the shame much to me*, should they prove *Waste Paper*, as I ever till now esteemed them. And in answer to those shall think some expressions here too *serious* to face such *stuff* as comes *after*, they may be pleased to know I did at first *intend* to *insert* some *notions* which *discretion* hath since thought *inconvenient*.

THE



THE PREFACE.

THE PROEM.

IF, *contrary to the* Mode *of ſuch us* loſe *their Thoughts in the* open Air *where they were* conceived; *I have, with more* Diligence, *regiſtered* Mine; *it was out of no* Opinion *they deſerve a* longer life, *but to prevent* Idleneſs, *with a Concourſe of ſome more* Tedious, *if not* Sinful: *which in the* Vacancy *of* Imployment, *are apt to* intrude *themſelves, under pretence of a more* ancient *and* familiar Acquaintance. *Nor can I yet find cauſe to repent of the pains, ſince it hath confirmed me in this Truth; that the* World *is not the* worſe, *nor* my ſelf *much* better, *for* Age *and* Continuance. *From whence I have learned, (though I confeſs, none*

more apt to forget) not to complain of Governours *for their* Oppreſſion, *or* upbraid Youth *with its* Vices: *Since in the* beſt *Times* Tyranny *hath been moderated, rather through* Fear *than* Goodneſs. *As the moſt ſeemingly*-Holy *do, at the higheſt, but* paliate, *not* diveſt *their humane* Infirmity. *And from hence we may be taught with St.* Peter, *not to call any thing* Polluted *or* Defiled: *All men at* long-running, *meeting with the ſame* Market, *either in reference to their own* depraved Will, *or* Performance. *Wherefore I ſhould conclude, (conſidering* my own *and* others *viſible* lapſes) *that* Sanctity *lies more in* Repentance *than* Innocency. *Which is the chief* Advantage, *if not all the* difference *diſcernable between thoſe we term* Wicked, *and the* Juſt. *Now if any one (a thing I have formerly been very chary of) ſhall read* theſe Papers *under the notion of* Approbation, *he can no more make* me *proud, than ſuch as* diſpraiſe *them,* angry: (*it being the guiſe of* all *to* applaud thoſe of their own Opinion:) *Of which there is none more* mine, *than that every thing is of a* mixed nature, *carrying a* Face *like* that *in a* painted Picture, *ſuitable to the* ſituation *and* light *the* Beholder ſtands in, *or is* guided by.

And in reference to one over-ſevere, *I may have this to ſay, that not a few now* wiſer *than us both, have pleaſed themſelves as much in* drawing Anticks *with a* Coal *upon a* Wall, *as others do in their endeavors to match* Apelles. *All I ſeek is to find employment for a Spirit that would* break the Veſſel, *had it nothing to* work *upon*

but

but it Self. *Nor is it leſs true, That I might juſtly be* blamed *for* ſome things *here, had more time been imployed about them, than God in his* mercy, *or to* puniſh *my former* negligence, *hath afforded me liberty to ſpare. Who can be accountable to* Poſterity *for nothing in this kind: being from my* Birth *unapable to receive the rich* Talent *of* Learning, *looked upon as* the only Key of Knowledge: *which if obtained, had been little advantage, ſince I want a* memory *wherein to* hoord *up what I had* ſtolen. *And ſo the* acquired Groat *might not unpoſſibly have* ſpoiled *and* adulterated *the more* natural Shilling. *Wherefore if a* Chymiſtry *might be found, able to* Extract *any thing uſeful towards the* conduct of Man, *out of ſuch* ordinary Simples *as theſe, they were highly to be eſteemed; and in likelyhood* more ſuitable *to every* Taſte, *as* freſh gathered *from the* Tree of Experience, *than thoſe* ſophiſticated *by the* Schools, *or of a* narrower Intereſt, *than that of* the whole Society of Man.

And if any draw benefit from theſe, *they are moſt likely to be* Friends; *it being only the* property *of* Love, *to look upon that with* delight, *which cannot be* diſcovered *to another without* ſhame. *And to ſuch I could be content to leave them, as the* Idea *of a* Mind *was no leſs cordially imployed, in advancing the* Good *of* others, *than of my* Patience *in receiving* injuries *from the* ſame *hands. This is not ſaid to wound* Providence *under the ſhadow of* Fortune. *Since I have hitherto not only been bleſt, beyond my* Deſert, *but* Expectation; *and have ſeen my* unnatural

Oppressors *perish and languish, through as* miraculous *means, as I have been preserved: and by which I am brought to the* contemplation *of* higher *and more* permanent Pleasures, *than the* poor and despicable consideration *of* Profit *is able to reach. Nor could any contrary Endeavour of mine, hide this from the Eyes of the* World, *to whose* Judgment, *I was for a long time not so* impudent, *or* imprudent, *as to present more of my Self than I must needs; because* Experience *still finds* her *in the Arms of* Curiosity *and* Prejudice: *Into whose* Den, *though I have been of late cast,* (*by* what hand *of* Fate *I know not, and so as it were* blindfold;) *yet I have come off with more* Favour, *from before this* Tyrannical Tribunal, *than divers known of far greater* Desert.

Nor should I but for a through Essay of my own *Fortune, and the Readers* Candor, *venture such* Stuff *as is likely to follow; which though produced long since, I am not able to* better *now; and if capable of* Acceptance, *the* World *is not likely to want it.*

But it is contrary to my own Aphorism *to* deboish *what I present, by saying it was* writ *before I was* Twenty: *From whence would results such an easie* Inference, *that surely I am* no Wiser now, (*which I wish heartily I were able to confute*) *else I should* mend, *or* conceal *them. Nor can I think it* Wisdom *or* Convenience *to say,* they were produced in a shorter space than Nature requires in the production of Rarities, *though not seldom* casual; (*as I observed in a* Flint *presented to King* Charles, *that bore*

the

the perfect Figure *of a* Man,) *it being the Custom of some* heads, *to afford the* greater Reason, *the* less *they are* pumped. *Such as is* cleerest, *running commonly* quickest, *and most* fluent; *whereas the* Deeper *requires* straining, *and so becomes* heavier, *and of a* less sprightful taste. *I will not say* mine *is of that* temper, *to avoid* prejudice: *nothing being* held in esteem, *is* easily *come by. Wherefore having found so many* condemned *upon the* evidence *they bring against* themselves *in* Print, *I have laboured to* conceal my name; *esteeming it more* pleasant (*if not more* natural) *to* Beget *then* Father. *But finding it as* impossible *to hide, as it is* unsuitable *to my present condition to be* idle, *and no less than* unbecoming Civility, *to neglect the* Importunity *of such* Friends, *as desire a* Publication *of* this Piece, (*which being a* mixture *of* all things, *may not improbably, like the* huge Dishes *now in* fashion, *feast the Appetites of some* one *or* other) *I shall once again venture into the* Press, (*as too* many *do*) *more out of* Confidence *than* Wit. *Yet let my* defects *be what they will, I have ever considered it as a* flatulent impertinency, *to* Court *the* Reader; *or think to raise a* Party, *in the behalf of any thing*, wears *not the* indubitable Character of Reason *and* Truth. *Against which*, Ignorance *and* Hypocrisie *have maintained so long and unnatural a* Rebellion, *as* Security *is no other way attainable, but by* Silence, *or* Compliance. *The continual* Wrestlings *against a* Rational Evidence, *having brought the* World *into so* mutilated *and* unsteady *a* Creed, *as in many places she is observed*

to halt between the uneasie ways *of* Hope and Fear. *The Contemplation of which, doth so stagger such as delight in* painting *their* Opinions *upon* Paper, *that they know not what* side *to take, out of a* dread *to fall under the* notion *of* Traitors, *or* Malignants, Atheists *or* Fools. *And amongst others, this may pass for a* Cause, *why* these *(formerly looked upon as waste)* Sheets, *have received this* Resurrection *out of the* Dust; *it being in* ill Times; *safer to appear* wanton *than* serious. *Or like* Brutus, *a* Fool *than a* Censor. *Of what is* in me *I make as* good use *as I can, but* hate *to borrow any thing; being more willing to appear with all my* defects *about me, than* glorious *and* splendid *through the* spoils *of* others. *Under the same* odium *(in my conceit) lies a* supercilious gravity, *by which I should interrupt all* Commerce *with those of my* own Coat, *and expose* my Self *to the* Judgment *of some* more wise, *who cannot but see through that* unnatural Veil, *the* poorness *of the* Trash *is carried* under it: *there being really no* nakedness, *but in relation to* others, *since all have the* Patience *to look upon their* own imperfections *without* blushing. *Which the oftner it is done, the* better *may be* learned *how to* prize others, *and* value our selves. *There appearing no way readier to demonstrate to a man his particular weakness, than by admitting him full leave to* trie his strength. *Wherefore so long as no body saw me, I was not capable of blame, if wanting the Engines of* Learning, *I endeavoured to shake the* Pillars *of the* Schools. *For though the* attempt *is not very*

likely

likely to afford any benefit to others; *yet I cannot but remain the* ſtronger *for it, and the more agile* my ſelf: *As ſuch do that* ſwing *though the* Beam *ſtirs not at which they* tug; *it being natural to* honeſt Labour, *ſtill to be followed by* Wiſdom *or* Reward. *For, though the generality of Readers are ſcandalized at all is not* mouldy *through* Age, *or* gilded *with* Novelty; *yet I remember to have heard from Sir* William Cornwallis, (*eſteemed* none of the *meaneſt* Wits *in his* Time) *that* Mountaign's Eſſays *was the likelieſt Book to advance* Wiſdom: *becauſe, the* Authors own *Experiences, is the* chiefeſt Argument *in it. For, as St.* Auguſtine *ſaith of* ſhort *and* holy Ejaculations, that they pierce Heaven as ſoon, *if not* quicker, *than more* tedious Prayers: *So I have reaped greater* benefit *from conciſe and* caſual Meditations *on ſeveral* Topicks, *than* long *and* voluminous Treatiſes, *relating meerly to one and the* ſame thing; *many* Scholars *being of ſo vaſt an* extenſion *in the proſecution of any,* (*though but a* ſeeming) Errour, *as they will leave no* Argument *unurged, be it never ſo* weak. *Forgetting that a* Triumph *is eaſier obtained, than a* Victory *ſo* diſcreetly moderated, *as may give no occaſion to think it either* tedious, *or* over-ſevere: *it being a work impertinently ſuperfluous, to give* two blows *where one may ſuffice. This is the cauſe that only ſuch are eſteemed that* bring *the* ſtrongeſt Reaſons, *and commit the* ſmalleſt waſte *upon the* Readers *time, or the* Adverſaries *repute. Nor are any to be commended as* Civil or Wiſe, *that proſecute a contrary Practice; too frequent a-*

mongſt us, where the abuſe *of the* Perſon *is* clinched *and* riveted *ſo* cloſe *with the* confutation, *as unqueſtioned* Charity *is not ſeldom* loſt, *in the* vindication *of a more* dubious Truth. *And from hence I have taken occaſion to* calculate *the* Meridian *of ſuch* hot heads, *as can ſuffer no* Opinions *but their* own *to ſtand quietly by them: forgetting there is as* much variety *in the* diſſemblances *of* mens minds, *as* Experience *and* Commerce *do obſerve in their* bodies. *Which may conclude it as great* folly *to* condemn one *of a* contrary Judgment; *as to* implead *another, becauſe his* Noſe *is* ſhorter *or* longer *than* theirs. *Nor is it in the* reach *of any thing but* Reſtraint *to make People* unanimous. *No leſs againſt the* freedom *of* Nature, *than it is ſuitable to* Cuſtom *and* Experience, *to find the contrary in* Practice, *where* all *are left to their* own Election. *As manifeſt in* wiſe Greece *and* Rome, *as in thoſe* Nations, *eſteemed both by* them *and* us *more* barbarous. *Nor can it but be reckoned amongſt the* Cauſes *of the* Catholicks Unity, *that* every one *may* addreſs their Prayers *to what* Saint *they pleaſe.* ——— *Now to vindicate my* ſelf *from their* folly, eſteem *the* fouleſt *of their* Writings *a fit* Copy *for the* World, *whoſe* heads ake *like* Jupiters, *till delivered of thoſe* Pallas's: *though ſo* flat *and* deformed, *as if conceived* in their Thumbs.

I may ſafely *ſay, that* heretofore, *(however it is with* me now, *grown perhaps through* Cuſtom *more* impudent) I was not ambitious to appear in publick, *ſince ſome of my acquaintance can atteſt, that divers Pieces,* of late publiſhed,

liſhed, *were* long ago *as* compleat, *as ever I have been able to make them ſince: the* firſt cauſe *of their projection, being rather for the* intent *to* While *my ſelf, than to* Buſie *others. Nor ſhall I proſecute this* Trade, *longer than it continues* acceptable *to the* Generality, *and* beneficial *to the* Stationer: *whoſe operation hath been more effectual in this* Midwifrie, *than any* delight *I can take in finding my ſelf* rated *according to the* value *of* every Judgment: *commonly* foreſtalled *by* Opinion, *a far nearer* friend *to things of this Nature, than the* higheſt Deſert.

At the Foot of whoſe Tribunal *I ſhould never have fallen, but to* redeem *the* World *out of a* Common Error, *by ſhewing* men *are not ſo* unhappy *in the* abſence *of* Learning, *as* Scholars *pretend.* —— *Whoſe* firſt *Queſtion is*, What Univerſity you are of? *And their* laſt, *if anſwered*, None: *For then they conſider the* Party *as* irrational, *and* below Converſation: *Forgetting, that though* Books *may produce a few* rough Materials; *it is only in the power of* Experience *and* Natural Parts *to build up and* burniſh a Perfect Man.

ESSAY

ESSAY

On ſuch as Condemn All *they underſtand not a* REASON *for.*

THeir Preſumption is no leſs *uncivil* than *prodigious*; that having nothing elſe to warrant them but a pettiſh and ſolitary *Opinion* of their own, will undertake to *arraign* the *truth* of all they cannot *apprehend*, or is not quite *arrived* within the *perfect cognizance* of *their Reaſon.* And by this *impudence* do not only *proclaim* themſelves *Judges* of the preſent *underſtandings*; but preſent the ſcanty meaſure of *their own*, as an *unqueſtionable Standard*, for *all* may ſucceed: Forgetting to what baſe *Offices* they have put ſuch *Conceits* and *Reſults* to upon a more *ſerious Conſideration*; which at their firſt *conception* they eſteemed

steemed *Authentick* and not *misbecoming* the *Cabinet* of a *Prince*. And if thus capable of *deceit* from *themselves*; What *security* are they able to give for the *spurious censures* they pass upon *others*, that one day they shall not be taken off from *Wisdoms File*, and some *more true* and *honourable* placed in their room, to the *eternal infamy* of such as are scandalized at any thing, formerly a *Stranger* in the *Schools*? Nor is this Humor the Continent of a less *Malignity*, than what hath been *capable* heretofore, (nor is it less *busie now*) to *obstruct*, and *discourage* all farther *prosecution* after *Knowledge*, by *branding Reason* with an *imputation* of *Atheism*: and *hanging* what they *understand not*, under the *notion* of *Witchcraft*, as *Foster* a Country *Parson* did the *Weapon-Salve*: Against which he conjured up not only the *Fathers*, *Schoolmen*, &c. but (so far as his *weak Talent* could extent) did suborn *Philosophy* to *attest* against *her self*. Nor had this *mad Duel* between *him* and Dr. *Lloyd*, (who being both of no great *strength*, did weaken the *Nations* repute abroad) been *parted*, but that *Authority* (to vindicate the *usual cure* of the *Kings Evil* from being an *operation* of the *Devil*) did step in betwixt them. The *first* gaining the *opinion* of as *high* an *impudence* for *Beginning*, as the *other* did of *folly*, for *maintaining* so *impertinent* a *Quarrel*.

It was the *custom* of King *James* (and no question, of no small *improvement* to his *understanding*) to *discourse* during *Meals* with the *Chaplain* that said *Grace*, (or *other Divines*) con-

concerning ſome point of *controverſie* in *Philoſophy*. And falling one day upon *Atheiſm*, he did by undeniable Arguments maintain, *No man could be found ſo irrational, as to deny a firſt Cauſe*: (which could be no other than that *Power* we call *God*.) And therefore *no ſuch thing in Nature* as an *Atheiſt*.

What his Judgment was of *Witchcraft*, you may in part find by his *Treatiſe* on that *Subject*, and *Charge* he gave the *Judges*, to be *circumſpect* in condemning thoſe, committed by *ignorant Juſtices*, for *Diabolical Compacts*. Nor had he concluded his *Advice* in a *narrower Circle* (as I have heard) than the *denial* of any *ſuch operations*, but out of *Reaſon* of *State*: and to gratifie the *Church*, which hath in *no Age* thought fit to explode out of the *Common Peoples* minds, an apprehenſion of *Witchcraft*. The greateſt *Miracles* now extant, making their *apparitions*, in the *dark Corners* of this *clouded Imagination*. Into whoſe *Cauſe* I ſhall not preſume further to peep, as eſteeming it more *dangerous* than *terrible*. Yet for the better *Vindication* of ſuch *Innocents*, as are daily obſerved, to paſs out of this *Back-gate of Injuſtice* to *another World*, (whoſe *Poſterns* are the *Ignorance of Judges*, and *Folly* of our *Laws*) I will here relate a *Story* of my *own Knowledge*; which if too weak to refel this *Common Error*, cannot be diveſted of ſtrength enough to perſwade more *diſcretion* and *charity*, than is ordinarily imployed in the *Trial* of ſuch *poor Creatures*, that are firſt made *mad*, as *Solomon* ſaith, through *Poverty* and *Affliction*; and after

hanged

hanged for being no *better adviſed* than to *confeſs* what they *never did*, or any *Fleſh* and *Blood* was ever *able to do*.

Sir *Humphrey Winch*, (none of the leaſt *honeſt* and *conſcientious itinerant Judges* of his Time,) was in the *Northern Circuit* preſented with this *Evidence* againſt three *ſilly* Women, *that they had out of propenſe malice, not only bewitched divers Cattle and Children to death:* But the *principal cauſe* of their *Commitment*, aroſe from the *Son of a Gentleman* that was ſuppoſed to have *laid divers Moneths* under their *Faſcination*; who at certain Times would *contract* his whole Body within the compaſs of a *Joyned ſtool*, and write in *Hebrew* and *Greek* Characters, though not known to be *skilled* in thoſe *Tongues*. That a *Spirit* came then into him, ſent by *theſe poor Wretches*, by which he was ſo *tormented*, as he did in his *Fits* foam at the *mouth*. Nor was there a greater and more probable *Evidence* wanting; For that *night* the Judges entered the Town, one of the *Witches* did privately deſire the *Jaylour* to bring her into a room by *her ſelf*, where without any compulſion, (a thing not omitted by our *Witch-finders*) ſhe told him ſhe uſed a *Familiar*, together with the *reſt*; and that they had joyned to *bewitch* the ſaid *Boy:* but did humbly beſeech him her *Fellows* might not know it, nor ſhe be returned to the ſame *lodging*, for fear *they ſhould torment her*; and within few hours died. Now upon the *Keepers evidence*, and others of like Nature, the *two* were found *guilty*, and *condemned* to be *hanged*. But under this *Proviſo*, that

that in case they continued obstinate in the *denial* of the *Fact*, the *Sheriff* should remand them back, where they were to live till the *Progress*, which was to be *Northward* that Summer. The *King* being *gratified* by nothing more than an *opportunity* to shew his *dexterity* in *discovering* an *Imposture*, (at which, I must confess him the *prompt*est man living) upon his arrival convented the *Boy*. Where, before *him*, (possibly daunted at his *presence*, or *terrified* by his *words*) he began to faulter, so as the *King* discovered a *fallacie*. And did for a further confirmation, send him to *Lambeth*, where the Servants of *George Abbot*, did in a few Weeks, discover the whole *deceit*. And he was sent back to his Majesty before the end of the *Progress*: where upon a small entreaty, he would repeat all his *Tricks* often-times in a Day. Nor did he *do* and *suffer* all this for a more *serious* cause, *than to prevent a present whipping, and avoid going to School*. Amongst other *Prianks*, he lived in an *Orchard* a Week upon *Apples* only.

I shall make no *Paraphrase*, nor pursue the Argument further, to avoid *Prolixity* no less than *Offence*. The *Doctrine* of such, &c. being a *Diana*, out of which no small *profit* is made, and *credit* purchased in reference to *opinions*, otherwise *ridiculous* and *untenable*.

PROV.

PROV. 8. 30.

Give me neither Poverty nor Riches.

FRom this *wise Kings Prayer*, we may learn the danger that resides in these two Gulphs *Povertie* and *Riches*. The latter *alluring* no less to *Pride*, than the first *tempts*, if not *compels* towards *Atheism* and *Infidelity*. Both gathering strength and aggravation from the *complexion* and *education* of the *Patient*; So as if *Abundance* proves the *Lot* of a *mean Birth*, and *Want*, the *Companion* of one bred in *Plenty* and *Eminencie*; it *elevates* the first as far above the *Sphære of Moderation*, as it *dejects* the other below the *Centre of Patience*: *Pride* despising Gods Power, no less than *Poverty* distrusts it. For as a perfect and harmonious *Joy* comes nearest to that *pleasure* and *content* assured us in *Heaven*: So *anxiety* and *discontent* are a representation of *Hell*. *Melancholy* being the *worst of Humours*, because the *Devils*; (if he may be thought to participate of *any*) who *apprehends* all ill about him, and cannot but despair of better. Wherefore *Poverty* must be allowed *the most dangerous condition*, because infested

infested with all those *prodigious effects*, this *Diabolical passion* is liable to produce. *Which* are, in a manner, *all* we do in this *World*, either *punish* or *admire*; *Sin* being a *result* of *Want*: from whence it becomes so far more *Illegal* than *Unnatural*, as St. *Paul* owns the *Law* for the most *manifest Original*, and exactest *measure* of his *prevarications*.

I know *Abundance* hath been by *Good men* prized below *Want*, when offered to be made the *Wages of Iniquity*; though none besides our *Saviour*, was ever found able to *grapple* with the *enemy* of *mankind* being *hungry* and in *want*, as *he* was in the *Wilderness*. Which remains none of the weakest *effects* left us of his *Divinity*; and rather inserted as a *Mark* of his own *power*, than an *Example* for our *imitation*. Yet such *Monastical persons* as endeavour to come nearest to it, have enough to *satisfie*, though possibly, not to *pamper Nature*. The Name of *Voluntary hope of Merit*, and the *worldly respect* it brings, bearing most of the charges belonging to it. Nor have they Wives and Children, which *looked through*, do like *Opticks*, *multiply* the *Bulk* of *Want*.

When *others (not wilfully)* sick of this *loathsom Plague*, as if it were *infectious*, are not only *forsaken* of *all*, but exposed to the *Tyranny* of *every hand* desires to oppress them. *Law* it self, (a Friend to all else) being so heavy an Enemy to the *poor Begger*, as it seeks to discharge the *Common-wealth* of *them*, with no less industry than the *Physitian* doth the *Body* of man, from *Humours putrid and noxious* to

its *health*. I know ſome make a Trade of *Want*; and by it are able to live, not only *idly*, but in an *unbridled luxury*; whereas *thoſe* here meant, *conſume their bodies* by *labour*, or which is more painful, in the *Study* of the *Mind*; yet cannot obtain ſo much as to purchaſe Bread ſufficient *to ſtop the mouths of their Family from barking at Heaven, and tearing God under the Veil of Fortune, for pouring upon others without limitation, what is denied to them in the meaneſt proportion*. Indeed the *Ancient Stoicks*, no leſs than the more *Modern Divines* have, and do ſtill continue their endeavours to vindicate this *unequal deſtribution* from the *tincture of Partiality*; but have in my mind, left it more *ambiguous*. Only our Saviour in his Anſwer penned for *Dives*, ſeems (no leſs than in other places of his Goſpel) to aſſign *Heaven*, meerly for an *Inheritance*, to ſuch as *want* here; and *Hell* for thoſe that *abound*: As he that makes the words, cannot but imagine, nor dare I apply the Figure of *Hyperbole* to any *ſaying of his*. Which, exactly weighed, is but a *Salvo* for a *Miſtake*, an *indefinite Number* or *Quantity* ſuiting better the Mouth of an *Ignorant Man*, than the *immenſe Knowledge* of our *Bleſſed Redeemer*. Wherefore (under the *correction* of a *more perfect light*) I think the *ſimile* of a *Camel*, (or *Cabel*) and the *Eye* of a *Needle juſtly and Mathematically* proportioned to the *ſalvation* of a *Rich man*, who is uncapable of it, without a more *Miraculous Extenſion* of the *mercy* of our *Maker*, than is by himſelf beſt known to ſuffice ſuch, as in this *World* have not enjoyed ſo much *plenty*. And

And that an *observation* of the *Law* is not *enough*, seems to appear, by *Christs* bidding *him* that had *done* it, to *sell all that he had, &c.* as the *thing most acceptable to God.*

Wherefore I could wish, that this *Tithing* the *Mint* and *Cummin* of *others Errours* and *Opinions*, were not so *nicely* performed, and *Charity* with her *Concomitant Probitie* (the *whole performance* of the *Commandments*) so quite neglected. Which no doubt, is the great occasion of so *much Indigence*, as may be observed *now*; and so *contrary* to *that* in *Christs Time*, as it rather *hinders* than *facilitates* the *ways* to *Heaven*: So as it appears, that the *Devil* himself had never experimented so much *power* in any person, as was able to resist the *temptation* of *Misery and Want*, till he met with *Job*. Which gave him the boldness to *wager* (as it were) with God, *that* in case he removed the *Hedge* his Love had placed about him, he would *curse* him to his Face.

Wherefore, it cannot be esteemed a *slight provocation* was the *Greatest*, *Mans Enemy* could invent. Had he only touched his *health*, the means of *Recovery* might have remained: But his *Livelyhood* being lost, nothing continued but *lean Patience*, far too weak wholly to ward this Blow, though it may dissemble the taking it, or cover the *Wound* for a Season.

It is no less *wholesom* than *decent* to travel on Foot with a *Horse* in thy *hand*; but to the *Destitute* of a like ease, *tedious*. Wherefore *Seneca* may make *Demonstration* of *Wit*, and *prescribe Rules* for the more quiet enduring of

Penury, but deſerves the leſs credit, becauſe writ at a time when himſelf had occaſion to uſe more *Moderation* than *Patience*; which makes me believe his Mind (together with the reſt of the *Puritanical Stoicks*) was far *averſe* from their *Doctrine*; ſince a *decent frugality* out of the Society of a more *ſordid covetouſneſs*, could not have *accumulated* ſo *immenſe* a *Treaſure* as *Tacitus* reports was found about him. Yet concludes his *Documents*, with a *peremptory adviſe*, rather to *die*, than abide in ſo little *eaſe* as this, and far leſs *intolerable earthly inconveniences* are obſerved to bring with them Which indeed were more to the purpoſe, could *Chriſtianity* make uſe of this his *laſt Receipt*: who is preſcribed by her *Inſtitutes* to *Tide* it out, although the *Stream* of its *Inconveniences runs* never ſo ſtrong againſt the Nature of Man. So as if *God* had ſet any *lower precipice*, at the *bottom* of the *Leap*, than *eternal damnation*, I think none ſo *puſillanimous*, as would not rather *once* take it, than to remain *ſtill* under the *Weight* of ſo *heavy* and *unſociable* a *Calamity*, that produceth all things *Hurtful* or *Hateful* to *Nature*. For when God Mans out his *Hoſts*, the *Poor* are found in the *Forlorn Hope*; and *Famine* takes up her *Head Quarters* under *their Roof*. Nor doth the *Peſtilence* find a more convenient place to hatch her *Malignities* in, than the *Boſom* of the *Indigent*. And when the *Sword* is ſo *noble* as to ſpare him, it is not ſo much out of *Mercy* as *Contempt*. He being *in this* only *Happy*, that his *condition* is not in a *capacity* to become *worſe*, no more than

than in any great *probability of amendment*; since in a general *Felicity*, he only is *unhappy*. Because *Want* renders her *Owners* uncapable of *Truſt*, by creating *Suſpicion* before any *fault* is committed: For where *neceſſity* abounds, there *Theft* and *Deceit* are ſuppoſed, as an *infallible conſequence*. When a *Felony* or *Murther* is committed, the next *Poor Houſes* are ordinarily ſearched. *Where the leſs is found of their own, the greater* ſuſpicion is conceived of *what belongs to others*. And ſo *loathſom* is a *Begger* eſteemed, as *he* that is ſo *charitable* as to make him *drink*, is yet thus *uncivil* towards *him*, as to *ſhut the door*, and *waſh* the Cup after *him*: as if it were impoſſible for a *Perſon* in *want*, either to be *true* or *wholſom*. Being ſhunned of the *Herd*, as *one ſtruck* by the ſevereſt *arrow* of his *Makers vengeance*, and left nothing to accompany him but *Miſery*.---Yet none may poſſibly apprehend him ſo *wretched* as *he thinks himſelf*: Being for the moſt part, deprived not only of *terreſtrial*, but *future Comforts*. For if *conſcious of Ill*, (as what means hath he of living by, or doing any thing elſe but *Evil?*) through *Death* (the only way to lead him out of his *tranſitory miſery*) he apprehends *one prepared* for him that is *eternal*. The *Indigent* perſon, like the *flying Fiſh*, being not only perſecuted in his *own Element*, by thoſe more mighty; But upon *leaving* it, falls into their *terrible claws*, to whom is aſſigned the *Dominion* of the Air. This *Croſs* having wrought ſo ſtrongly with ſome *Complections*, as to purge away all *Belief of Providence*, and revive that

old damnable Opinion of a *double Nature in God.* Now though our *bleſſed Saviour* is not found *above twice* to *ſuſtain* his *Followers* a *miraculous way*, and that in the *Deſart*, where *Nature* failed; yet, by making the *Rich* to *divide* with the *Poor*, he ſupplied that Defect this *uneven Diſtribution* occaſions in the *World.* And that no ſmall *ſtreſs* of *Chriſtian Wiſdom* lay in it, may ſeem to appear in the *ſeverer puniſhment* inflicted by St. *Peter* (in many places ſtiled the *Prince* of *the Apoſtles*) upon *Ananias* and *Saphira*, than ever was *obſerved* to attend ſuch, as *whipped*, *ſtoned*, and *perſecuted Chriſt*; not only in his *own* perſon, but *that of his* Followers. Wherefore, *if thoſe* thus *ſet upon*, do daily fall into *Heterodox* Opinions, or are, not ſeldom obſerved, to *hang* up their *ſhield* of *Faith* in the *Temple* of *Diſpair*; and Convert the Study of *unrewarded Vertue*, into the more *thriving opportunities Deceit* affords: they ought to receive *pity from us*, becauſe liable to the like *lapſes* our ſelves, who through *Exceſs* are found to *rob the Poor*, more than *Neceſſity* dares do the *Rich*, out of *fear* of the *Iron-teeth* of the *Law*; in *all Nations* far more *ſevere*, than *thoſe* of *Chriſt.* Who, by not reproving his *Diſciples* for *taking the ears of Corn*, gives the *hungry belly* a *larger Charter*, in the enjoyment of *earthly bleſſings*, than the *Tyranny* of *Power* is willing to ſubſcribe; it being no ſmall *augmentation* of the *Needies miſery*, and one of the greateſt torments in Hell, to ſee *all Plenty about* him and *want within.* To conclude all further *Diſcourſe* on this *Tragical calamity*, I ſhall ſay (but not peremptо-

peremptorily) if *Sampſon* found Mercy that deſtroyed *himſelf* for the *gratification* of his *Revenge*; what reaſon is there in denying it to theſe, upon the *greater Provocation of want?*

A Contemplation on Adams *Fall*

SUch as think *Gods* firſt Injunction *trivial*, in prohibiting *Adam* to eat of the *forbidden fruit*, and the *temptation* to break this *Commandment*, *eaſie* to be avoided, do not conſider that *Man* in his *Innocencie* had no uſe of any *external* thing but *Meat:* nor other *capacity* of improving his *Intellects*, ſave in *Knowledge*. A *deſire*, ſo *diffuſed* throughout the whole *maſs* of *humanity*, that ſuch as are too weak to apprehend *Reaſon* of *State*, will pry into the *Cauſes* of their *Landlords actions*; or, that failing, raiſe *Tumults* amongſt *themſelves* by a too near inſpection and *Revelation* of the *news* of each others *miſcarriages*. And this being the moſt univerſal *Humour now*, may render it more probable to *have been* the ſame did accompany *Man* at the *firſt: Nature* remaining *depraved*, not *eradicated*. Wherefore this *Prohibition* was placed according to *Prudence*, upon that ſide our *Parents* were *weakeſt* on; and ſo more fit to receive a

caution. For, had God forbidden them *Theft* or *Murther*, they could not have apprehended his *meaning*: nothing but *Will corrupted* by *Paſſion*, being able to bring forth ſuch *uncouth ſins* into *action*, which having once fallen within the compaſs of *Experience*, they, *by conſequence*, came within the *notion* of *Knowledge*, nothing being yet preſented to their *imaginations* but what was already arrived within the circuit of their *ſenſes*. The *firſt Man* appearing to me, no better furniſhed with *Knowledge* than an *Infant* in his *Primitive Innocencie*; but that his *Organs* being made perfect, he was capable to apprehend all things, with the ſame *Dexterity*, his ſenſes were able to feed his *Fanſie*: In which they might take ſo much *pleaſure*, (ſince *nothing* is more *taſteful* to *Humanity*, than *Underſtanding*) that to make this *Spring* of *Knowledge* more fluent, he ſwallowed the *Apple*, the *Fountain* of his *Infelicity*; which in ſtead of gratifying his *Taſte* and *Deſire*, depraved both. If he gave *Names* to the *Creatures* ſuitable to the *ſinful Uſe*, was after to be made of them; he did not only *propheſie their* future *miſerie*, but *his own*. And if *foreſeen*, why did he not *prevent* it? Wherefore the *fault* muſt lie, either upon his *Ignorance* or *Will*. For till his *Fall*, he ſeems, to have as little *need* of the *Elephants* Docility, or the *Oxes* Induſtry, as it is improbable, but that *they* were both made for *Imployment*: which had been *quite loſt*, together with all *the Trades*, the *Bleſſing* [of *Encreaſe* and *Multiply*] is ſuſtained by, had not *Adam* fallen from his *Original Integrity*.

This

This makes me wonder, to find *Eve* willing, or at *leisure* to *chat* and *gossip* it with the *Serpent*; *the most remote in Symmetry*, from her own glorious *Form*, if not in *Nature*, from her *temper* and *complection*; especially having so much the more *excellent* and adapted *Companion*, as her *Husband* near her to *converse with*. Which might give credit to their *Opinion*, that the *Fall* was *long after* the *Transgression*: but that the *impossibility* of her *conceiving a contaminated Issue*, whilst *pure* in *themselves* offers more than a probable *confutation*. It not being likely *they* should *forget*, for any *considerable time*, to neglect one of their principal *Errands* which lay in performing the *Blessing* of *Diffusing* his *Like*: The most *Rational Cause* such can produce, as attribute their *Prevarication*, to an *excess* in *Concupiscence*; through which the *Tree* growing in the midst of the *Garden*, became *contaminated*. But to *bury* this *Conjecture*, (no less than the Opinion of *Josephus*; "*That the Serpent had, together with all Creatures else, before the Fall, "an articulate voice*) in the more certain *Relation* of *Moses*; (though in nothing more *concise* and *abstruse*, than about the beginning; not unpossibly, that he might preserve *Truth*, at the least prejudice to *Tradition*, in the *preservation* of which, the *People of God* were extream, if not superstitiously tender.) I shall modestly *propose*, that if the *Serpent* was really *active* in the *seducing* of *Man*: (as may seem to appear, by the *Curse* laid upon him no less *diffusive*, in reference to *this World*, than ours,

it

it reaching the *whole ſpecies*; obſerved at this day, to *crawl* upon the *ground*) whether we may not infer, that this *now deſpicable Creature*, was the *firſt* that went about to infringe the *Ordinance* of *God*: ſince thoſe that make the *Serpent* only *inſtrumental* to the *Devils activity*, borrow it from *Conjecture* not *Reaſon*, which was never obſerved to puniſh the *Sword*, but the *Hand* that did *manage* it to *deſtruction*. Wherefore, if it was the *Devils ſin*, nothing but the *Serpents conſent* in making it ſelf inſtrumental, could procure a *puniſhment*; no more than to the *Winds* that through his incitation, deſtroyed the children of *Job*. Which put together, may *crowd* a room for this *Conjecture*, that the *Devil poſſeſſed* the *Serpent* with *Envy firſt*, at ſo *glorious a Creature* as *Man* was; and after gained its conſent to be *inſtrumental* in our *deſtruction*, and ſo a *Co-operator with Satan*, and a *Fellow* in his *Sin*. For if it be thought unpoſſible the *Serpent* ſhould do ſo ungrateful a ſervice to *humane nature* upon *its own* inſtigation, it appears as unreaſonable, why it ſhould bear all the *Penalty*, the *Devil* having augmented, if not *begun* his *Rebellion* againſt his *Maker*, by ſeeking to deſtroy this his *Handy-work*.

Theſe ſeeming *contradictions*, together with the *Appellation* of an *Evening* and a *Morning* before the *Luminaries* (the only *Dividers* of *Time*) were made, might tempt *Philo* the *Jew*, to dreſs in the *Life* of *Moſes*, the *Story* of the *Creation* in an *Allegory* or *Fable*: who ſtanding neareſt thoſe Times, and in a *better light*, may be thought by ſuch as love to be *Sceptical*, moſt

pro-

probable. But since the *Ancient* and *Apostolical Church* (to whose *Creed*, so far as my *darker Infidelity* will give me leave, I shall submit my *judgment* in all *Humility*) hath *accommodated* it to *another sense*, I think it, as far from *Prudence* as *Christianity* to oppose, or in the least *contradict* it.

Though apt to consent, that the *lapsed Angels* might entertain more commerce upon *Earth* before the Promise of our *Saviour*, and whilest *Man* stood upon his *own Legs*, than after *God* had taken him into his *Protection*; as not thinking it meet to trust such *Frailty* with so *potent an Enemy.* Wherefore he confined the *Devil* into *holes* and obscure *places*, out of which upon his own *instigation* or *imitation* of the *Prophets* of the *Lord*, he gave his *ambiguous Oracles*, till by the brighter *apparition* of the *Star of Jacob*, they were struck as irrecoverably *dumb*, as they were *blind* before: averred by *Plutarch* in his *Morals* in the *Genius* or *Ghost of Socrates.* And he that would find a *reason* why our *first Parents* were *ashamed* of their *nakedness*, must not seek it in the *Nature* they conveyed to us, where *bashfulness* is a *result* of *Custom*, but from the *contemplation* of some *creature* then in *sight really*, or *seemingly* more *beautiful* than *themselves:* there being no *occasion* for *shame*, but in respect of a more *transcendent perfection.* It remaining indubitable, *that Children* with *us*, and *Men* and *Women* amongst the *Indians*, (not to be denied the *exactest followers* of the *primitive Dictates of pure Nature*,) are no more sensible of *shame*, in relation to those *Parts Adam*

and

and *Eve* are said to have *covered*, than the *Europeans* expreſs, when found *bare-faced*. *Bluſhing* being a *ſilent confeſſion* of a *fault*, not to be *found* amongſt the *Works of God*: nor any where, till the *Law* had ſtamped the *Figures* of *Reward* and *Puniſhment* upon ſuch *Humane actions* as do *advance* or *depreſs* the general *Felicity*. *Cuſtom* being ſo exact a Diſpoſer of the *Conveniency*, if not *Conſent* of *Mankind*, as to make *divers Wives* in *Turkey* lie quietly under one and the ſame *Covering*. So as it requires more than an *Ordinary Intelligence* to diſtinguiſh between the *Free Government of Nature*, and the *Imperious Tyranny*, if I may not call it *Anarchy* (for it is not in *all places* alike) of *Education*. But leſt I ſhould appear rather a Diſciple of *Plato* than *Moſes*, I ſhall paſs by the *Rabbies* no leſs than the *Modern Philoſophers*, that conſume more time in hunting after the *Original* of the *Diſeaſe*, than the *means* to *cure* it, not to be found but in *Jeſus Chriſt*. Yet, as I ſaid before, ſince no *Heart* is empty of the *humour of Curioſity*, the *Begger* being as attentive in his *Station* to an improvement of *Knowledge*, as the *Prince*; It is not unlikely to have been the *Primary* and *Centrical Sin*; *from whence* the *Lines of all humane Vanities* are *drawn*, and to *which* they are *faſtned*: For if our *later Artiſts* think it no ill Argument to prove the *Baſis* of the *Earth Magnetical*, becauſe the *Loadſtone* is in all Climates found: Why may it not be concluded from as great a *Diffuſion*, that a *too Dilated deſire of Inſpection* into things, was *Original Sin*? ſince not only

only observable in *Solomon* himself, but in the *Picture* of the *Fool* he draws, who ran after *Variety:* Which is only *New Knowledge* of a *Strange Woman.* And if I am not deluded by those *more Learned*, one *Word* in the *Original* is taken for *Both.* But to proceed: When *Eve* saw the *Fruit* she did *covet*; and *concupiscence* is enough *now* to condemn *us*, though not *then.* The *Text* placing the *Transgression* in *Eating*, not *Desiring:* That remaining impossible to be *prevented*, *all things* till *contaminated* by *Sin*, being in so high a *degree* of *perfection*, as they did *enforce* a *coveting* in *all* did behold them: "*It appearing too low a Sacra-*
"*ment of Duty in Man, the Supreme Vice-ge-*
"*rent of the Almighty, to have for a Testimony*
"*of Obedience, only abstained from what was in*
"*it self but meerly indifferently Good.*

It is not likely he covered his *Nakedness* with Leaves of the *same Tree* from whence he gathered his *Destruction:* As those imagine who suppose the *Indian Fig* to be the *Forbidden Fruit:* For how should he *dare* to *touch* that a *second time*, had wounded him at *first*, *quite through himself* and his *Posterity?* though confessed, a perfect *Representation* of *Guilt.* One *Root* being so *Diffusive*, as by a *Gum* that distils from the *Boughs*, to dilate it self into the *vast shade* of a *Desart*, sufficient to *cover* an *Host* of *men.*

Nor is *Curiosity* and a *Lickerish Desire* of enjoying *that we never tried*, though known to be the *cloud*, in which all the Storms impending Life are engendred,) yet Cured in us.

"Who

"Who by Retail drop into the ſame *Error* we "conſider in him, as the *higheſt* and *moſt im-* "*pertinent folly*. The *Apple* of a *wandring* "*Eye*; not being ſeldom found able to *over-* "*ballance the wiſdom of Solomon*, and the *Piety* "of *David*.

Wherefore it is time to give over upbraiding thoſe Names of *Adam* and *Eve*: all things we never ſaw or knew, being *empty ſounds*; and *impertinent Appellations*. Not ſeldom loaden out of *Ignorance* in the Contents of their Story, (as a number of other *dead Voices* are,) with *inſignificant Praiſe* or *Blame*. Eſpecially, ſince *Moſes* and the *Prophets* are not heard to *condemn* them; as *conſcious to themſelves*, they either would or could not but have done the *like*. Yet we may ſafely ſay, that between the *ſuſpenſion* of the *Promiſe* and the *Fall*, (which might poſſibly anſwer the time *Chriſt* remained on the *Croß*) *Adam* endured *greater Agonies* than ere was matched, but by *God and Man*: Who only knew the *way* to *untread* the *Maze* in which *Man* had loſt himſelf, and *All* that ſhould ſucceed; If ſo *wicked* as to harbour a deſire of *dilating himſelf*, and bringing an Offſpring into a like *Dilemma*, in which he ſaw nothing for the preſent, but horror joyned with a fearful *expectation of worſe* to come. Not having ſo much as the *weak twig of Hope* to ſuſtain him from falling into *deſpair*. Which could not *ſpring* but from the *Root* of an *Experience*, ariſing from a *former experimented Mercy*, the Garden having not yet produced any *Fruit* ſo *lateward*. There being as little marks

marks of *forgiveneſs* as there was a *diſmal example* of *Juſtice* ſtamped upon the *diſobedient Angels*. Whoſe *condition* was yet ſo far *better* than *Mans*, as an *already determined Judgment* is more *tolerable* than *one* that remains ſtill *Arbitrary*, at the *Will* of an *omnipotent Power*: and in this "*miſerable anxiety*, *God* "ſaves *Adam*, whom *nothing elſe* was ſo *mer*-"*ciful* as to *kill*.

Now I can do no leſs than *predicate* here a more *charitable opinion* than theirs that conclude, the *greateſt proportion of men lie under the Kingdom of Satan*: by which, the *Promiſe of Redemption* comes to be *reſtrained*, and ſo the *Truth* of its *performance obſtructed*. It being no where obſervable in the dignity of *Reaſon*, that a *ſuperlative Power* ſhould go leſs, or *beneath* its *word* in relation to *Good*. It exceeding the *reach* of the moſt *rigid diſtinction*, or *ſtricteſt interpretation* to find a *parity* or *equal proportion* between the *Head* and the *Heel*: If any were diſcoverable, between *cruſhing* and *biting*. 'This makes me *tremble* at their *preſumption*, 'who carry *breath* in their *noſtrils*, yet are not 'affraid to affirm, that *all things ſo dear to our* 'Maker, *as to be capable of a future happineſs*, 'are not to be found out of the Pale of Chriſten-'dom, *this or that Church*, *or rather Chappel*. No ſingle Profeſſion extant, carrying a greater *proportion* with the *whole World* than a *peculiar Pariſh* doth to a *Province*. As if the Fountains of *Gods mercy* were not as *ingenious*, and his *ſeven Spirits* as *diffuſive* as thoſe of *Nilus*; by which the *want* not the *neglect* of *Rain* is ſup-

plied

plied in *Egypt*. Nor can it be imagined with any *salvo*, to the *Dignity*, *Pity*, *Wisdom*, *Omnipotency*, and the *Promise of God* first made, and therefore likely to be most *inviolably* kept, (*he* not being as *man*, that he should *repent*) for, *that the Earth is the Lords, and all that therein is, the Fulness thereof*, cannot be *true*, if *Hell* swallow up the *major part*. And that *Christ* his *Son* should be found at the last *Assizes*, with a smaller *Train* (let their *Glory* be never so *Great*) than *his*, shall march in the *head* of those *miserable souls*, cloathed with the *wrath of God*. Can any in *Prudence*, if in *Equity*, think that the *malice* of his *Enemy* should be more *diffusive* in relation to *particulars*, than the *mercy* of our *blessed Saviour*? who did not like the *Devil Fall* for our *Destruction*, but *Rise* for our *Justification*. There now lives not a greater *Infidel* than S. *Thomas* was: yet the *Apostles* do not *excommunicate* him, nor *Christ reject* him, but *cure* him through a *palpable manifestation* of those *wounds*, the *Greatest* part of the *World have not*, nor *ever had* any *Knowledge* of: Nor those most *reserved*, any *inspection* into; but what they make through so *small a Faith* as doth not answer the *proportion* of a *grain of mustard-seed*; else they would remove those *mountains* that shadow *Truth*. And if so *single* an *attestation* as *mine*, might be allowed the *boldness* to appear against such a *cloud* of *witnesses*, as have found the *Turk* and *Pope* guilty in *person* of the *Title* of *Anti-Christ*, I should *reverse* the *Sentence*; and *pronounce* it rather against that *order* of *Men*, or *Discipline*, *that put the forgiveness of*

God

God under a Buſhel, (which according to his *Dignity*, and *Promiſe*, ought to *diffuſe* it ſelf over all the *Nations* of the *World*) rendring by this means, the *inexhauſtible Treaſure of Mercie*, like the *Philoſophers Stone*: (of which ſome have made *the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt* but an *Allegory*) only attainable by a *People* thus *ſcituated*, *inſtructed* and *qualified*: Whereas *none* that *call upon the name of God* (a *cuſtom* appears by *Geneſis* not to have begun *till after Adam*) are exempted out of the *primitive Grant*. The *faults* of the *Angels*, if compared with that of *Man*, will not be found upon a true *Survey*, much *different*.

The *firſt* endeavouring to *equal* their *Maker* in his *Power*; the *latter* in his *Wiſdom*.

It is harder to find a Reaſon for the *Angels ſin* againſt *God*, than their *malice* to *Man*: It being uſual for *Malefactors* to hate their *Judge*, and after *ſentence*, to endeavour the *hindrance* of its *Execution*, and to bring others (at leaſt thoſe they know he *favours*) into a *like Condemnation*; having *themſelves* no better *condition* to *hope* for, nor *worſe* to *fear*. Like the *wicked* of this *World*, which ſeek that *Eaſe* amongſt *Company*, they are not able to *find alone*. Wherefore the preventing Satans further *Triumph*, may not improbably be numbred amongſt *the cauſes why God ſhewed mercy to men*; in the *ſalvation* of whom, had he been ſo *ſparing* as ſome imagine, *his Juſtice* would appear more prevalent than his *mercie*. And ſo run out into ſuch a *diſhonourable extream*, as cannot be *matched* in the *Practice* of the *greateſt Tyrants* that ever were: Which are not found to make a *temporal puniſhment* to ex-

tend to a *major part*, much leſs one *eternal*. What ever the *Text* may ſeem to import to our dull Capacities, *there* was no *likelihood* that *Adam* would have in this *condition* (if he rightly underſtood Himſelf) *Eat* of the *Tree of Life*: but rather have ſwallowed *Poiſon* (had that *place* afforded it.) Who by catching at the *ſhadow* of *Divinity*, loſt the *real ſubſtance* of *Humanity*, at the *ſuggeſtion* of the *Devil*: who ſeeing *God* form a *Governour* out of the *Duſt*, the moſt *deſpicable* part of his *Government*, yet a more *honourable* beginning than *his*, (*any thing* being better than *nothing*) he might look upon it with *diſdain*, as *unworthy* the *ſentence* of *Goodneſs*. Neither might this *humour* of *Pride* be provoked, if he be admitted ſo much *inſpection* into *future Succeſs*, as to ſee the *Creature* he deſpiſed, ſhould not only inherit the *Glory* he was fallen from, but *exceed* the *Angels* that *continued* in *integrity*. Thus the *Serpent* growing *fruitful* in *preſumption*, endeavours to fruſtrate his *Makers Intention*, by labouring to *deface* his *Image* in *Man*.

But *Omnipotencie* ſtruck Light out of *Darkneſs*, by making the *Prince* of it *inſtrumental* to the *production* of his *Son*. And theſe *Joyful Tidings*, That *the ſeed of the Woman ſhould prevail againſt the gates of Hell*, God brings *himſelf* as a *token* that he meant to perform it in his *own perſon*. Neither is it to be paſſed without *notice*, that he ſaith, *the ſeed of the Woman* only. For by that, might be prefigured the *miraculous conception* of our *bleſſed Saviour* without a *Man*, no leſs, than the *perverſneſs* of *depraved Nature*.

For

For though *Adam* had thus offended and felt an *effect* of the *punishment* in his present *Apprehension*, yet he was *not able to lay* hold on the *weak Vertues* of *Repentance* and *Acknowledgment*; the *lawful Daughters* of *Hope*, with whom yet he had *no acquaintance*, much less *interest*, before the *Promise* of *Christ*. But in stead of these *tokens* of *Grace*, he wanted not the *impudence* to lay the *fault* on *God*; as if the *woman* had been *made* and *given* him for his *destruction*. And in this *Eves sin* was *less*, and her *manners* more; "For though *she* would not take it to *her* "*self*, but cast it on the *Serpent*, yet she doth "not *upbraid* God with the *making* of it.

Now by Gods *mild Answer* in this no less than in his *Colloquie* held with *Cain* after the murther of his *Brother*, we may find, *he* is not *angry* according to the *mode of men*, or as some *represent* him with *thunder* continually in his *hand*. As if our *prevarications* and *miseries* had *created passions* in our *Maker*, and taught him to be *angry* or *merciful*. Since if ever he had been capable of *Fury*, it had *now* appeared, when he found *Malice*, *Ingratitude*, *Folly*, and *Pride* laid all in the *way* to interrupt his *Work*, which his *Justice* must have ruined, had it not been quenched by *Love*: A *Vertue* taken out of the hidden Fountain of his *Goodness*, which till then he was not pleased to *reveal*.

And here his passing by all *notice* of the *Devils* operation in *Adams Transgression* may colour *their Opinion*, that think, "*Sin did then*, "*and now doth proceed from our selves*.

Conjectural
QUERIES,
OR,
Problematical Paradoxes
CONCERNING
Reason, Speech, Learning,
EXPERIMENTS,
and other
Philosophical Matters.

By FRANCIS OSBORN Esq;.

LONDON,
Printed in the Year, 1673.

To his very worthy Friend,

Mr. Ro. Wo.

Of Linc. Coll. *in* Oxon.

SIR,

Did I own the Wiſdom *and* Wealth *of* Seneca, *as truly as I do the higheſt* Affection *he pretends to in his* Epiſtles; *this had contained Matter no leſs ſuitable to the* Greatneſs *of your* Judgment, *than the* Obligation *I muſt ever acknowledge I owe to your* Goodneſs.

But ſince I am reſtrained from the firſt by Birth, *as I am from the latter by* Fortune; *you may yet be wooed to a more charitable acceptance upon this conſideration, that though the* Preſent *be ſmall, it was not* filched *from* Epicurus, *or any Magazine of* Knowledge, *than what lies included within my own* Invention. *Which proves* this *I ſend you, as abſolutely* mine, *as ever it was*

theirs (*if any ſuch be*) *that may have* diſcovered *it before I was born. For being acquited by my Conſcience of all* Theft *in this kind, I take the* Recitements *of* others Opinions, *as relating to no greater a* ſhame *in me, than thoſe are* obnoxious *to, who enricked us with* Guns *and* Printing, *becauſe ſome maintain they were* uſed *in* China *many thouſand years before. The rancconter being no leſs* happy *than his that ſtumbled on it at firſt.*

I confeſs I have been ſo baſely abuſed by Books, *as that I entertain none but upon high* Commendations: *and thoſe rather* New *than* Old, *however the World is pleaſed to look a ſquint upon them, as leſs deſerving, though ſome have appeared of late to* admiration, *and ſo far* tranſcendent *as I fear our* Period *is near.* Ignorance *and* Barbariſm, *being commonly the laſt ſubdued before a general Deſtruction.*

Knowledge *hath been ever taken for an infallible* portent *of* Ruine, *found* ſo buſie a Companion, *as ſhe leaves nothing unpried into, in* Heaven *or* Earth *towards the* Heighths *and* Depths *of which ſhe is not continually rolling her* Conjectures *and caſting her Darts; tenable through no* Opinions *long, but what ſhe remains fettered to with the ſtrong* Chains *of the* Mathematicks. *A Study no leſs* natural *than* neceſſary. *The imployment of* Children *in their exacteſt* Innocencie, *being to make* Houſes *and* raiſe Pies *of* Dirt. *So as if this inclination were encouraged and ſupported through the direction of diſcreet* Teachers, *theſe* Buds *might come in future to yield (without tormenting and ſubduing their*

their Spirits) more wholſome Fruit *than the crueller Culture of the* School *was ever found yet able to produce.*

But I hold it no Prudence here to give a ſecond blow, by which the Idolaters *of* former Cuſtoms *may be tempted to a like* ſeverity, *in caſe I ſhould miſtake; as 'tis very poſſible I may. The* Land-skip *I endeavour to draw being darkened through* Ignorance, Superſtition, *and what is more dreadful, a thick and obſcure cloud of* different Judgments *ſo long imbraced for the* Goddeſs of Truth, *as none can proſecute the contrary, though never ſo far off, under hope of a milder penalty, than to be ſent away* naked, *and* wounded, *which cannot but be thought an* uncivil *kind of* Juſtice, *and unſuitable to the* Primitive *and* richer Ages *of the* World: *Where then as few were denied to ſearch as we find now able to* determine. *Every Sect of* Philoſophers *domineering in his Station.*

Yet rather than betray Natural Reaſon *into their hands who deſire to cut off all farther* Traffick *with the Land of* Knowledge, *I ſhall leave theſe* Paradoxes, Problems, Queries, Conjectures, *or what you pleaſe to call them, wholly to your Diſpoſure. Being reſolved neither to be* dejected, nor elated *through their* Deſtruction *or* Preſervation. *Only I am confident if they can paſs with the ſmalleſt degree of* your approbation, *it may prove a ſafe conduct in juſtice againſt the ſevereſt Cenſures of others, no leſs than a perpetual teſtimony that I am*

Your faithful Friend
and Servant.

Conjectural *Paradoxes*

CONCERNING

Reaſon, Speech, Learning, Experiments, &c.

MOſt *Philoſophy* lies clouded by *Diſputes*, and the *Magiſterial Determinations* of the *Schools* from whence it hath till of late, been thought preſumption to appeal; though *manifeſt Errors* do appear in what they have already judged: and many as material things paſſed by under *ſilence* or *reſtraint*, that cannot be denied as fit to be known. Nor are any ſo likely to *diſcover* new *Truths* as ſuch as march *by themſelves*, and out of the *beaten track* of others. *Curious Ideas* being like *Precious Stones*, ſooner *ſtumbled* upon and found in places leaſt looked for, than *ſtarted* by the *Direction* of any that went before; who

who have left only *discouragement*, or at least but a *negative* or such a *perplexed knowledge*, as renders their *understanding* that rest in it more *offuscated* and *gloomy* than the most stupid *ignorance* it self.

Which together affords me cause enough to think our rare '*Inventions* and *pregnant wits* '*stifle their own natural fertility through a too* '*long and frequent commerce with Books*; *not* '*seldom of a contrary complexion and stile to the* '*Readers: yet forced out of Custom to be con-* '*versant in them.* By which he is brought to *stammer* and become so *diffident* of himself (such *Learning* lying in *Memory* the most *pedantical* part of *Knowledge*) as he dares not deliver his own *Opinion* out of *reverence* to *Antiquity* or any *Authors* else, but in the *same words* he finds it written. The *doting* upon *Foreign Authority* keeping us still at a *stand:* like the *Body* of *Joabs* Brother, beyond which the *Israelites* would not pass, out of a vain reverence to their *General.*

And thus all further *prosecution of Knowledge* and *Conquest over Ignorance* is obstructed, and *Scholars* tied to *cultivate* and confine their *Travels* within the Circuit of a barren *Wilderness*, stocked with *insignificant terms*, and such *crabbed allusions* and *improbable conclusions*, that have no better Plea for their *Authority* than the exorbitant veneration which *Tradition* rather than *Merit*, hath awarded *Antiquity* above the *equal*, if not *better Judgments* found in *our Age.* Nor is there hope of any further or more happy *Progress* till these *rotten Carcasses* be *removed*

out

out of the way, or *covered* from their Eyes that want not Hearts and abilities to *jog* on better without them.

The *first Man* could have at the beginning but this advantage of a *Child*, that his *Organs* were immediatly *fitted* and *prepared* to *receive* no leſs than *retain Knowledge*. Which in an *Infant* are *obſtructed* through want of *room*, or too great a *redundancy* of *phlegm* or *moiſture*.

For if *Adam* was furniſhed with more, it muſt be *ſupernatural*, and ſo far above humane apprehenſion, as it is to imagine how he ſhould *know his Goods*, or the *uſe* of what he never had ſeen or *tried*, unleſs we conceive he brought an *Inventory* or *Herbal* into the World with him.

Wherefore according to humane underſtanding, *Reaſon* like *Fire* was at the beginning but a *Spark*, till through a confluence of all *events* happenable to Man, it received *augmentation*, as the other did from the ſupplement of *Matter*; and having once *caught Paper* did *illuminate* the *World*.

Now though ſo much *Knowledge* is not unlikely to be found in the *Creature*, as that with the ſame *advantages* to increaſe it, they might become more intelligent than ſtill to remain *Slaves*: Yet I find room for a *Querie*, 'Whether *this defect* (if capable of that Title) *doth* 'not *proceed rather from the want of Speech*, 'than *perception*? Or *whether Humanity that* 'arrogates ſo high, *as to proclaim it ſelf Lord* 'over all, *may not be found in ſome Perſons and* 'Places (as it might not impoſſibly have been in 'the reſt) *little more rational, had it no greater*

'ſtock

'*ſtock of Experiments, to traffick with, than* '*every reſpective individual is able to glean up* '*of himſelf?* Our advantages proceeding from *Commerce*, whoſe Wheel once ſet a work did quickly manifeſt on which ſide *Gain* or *Loſs* lay, the *primitive Knowledge* of *Good* and *Evil*, and before whoſe door *Sin* was firſt found.

And this *inſpection into things* at the beginning dim and modeſt, became by handing from one generation to another, ſo *huge a Mountain* in their eſtimation who preſumed to have made a full and exact *Survey* of the Land of *Knowledge*; that with the *Giants* of old, they did not only rant it over mens *Perſons* and *Conſciences*, by proportioning what extent of *Worſhip* befitted the *Gods*, but erected their *Pillars* upon the borders of *Philoſophy* under ſuch an *imperious injunction*, as none, till of late have ventured to diſcover any thing beyond them; though found in other *deſcriptions* and *relations* very *falſe*, by *multiplying* ſuch poor *advantages* as *man* hath acquired, and *depreſſing* greater which do naturally belong to the *Creature*, who is inſpired with the ſame *breath*, inhabits the ſame Earth, is more *healthful* and *ſtrong*; only he ſeems to come ſhort in *Reaſon*. The *Original* of which I ſhall make my further endeavour to *diſcover*. And if it prove in the *abſtract* more *adventitious* than *natural*, and *leſs beneficial* than the *Senſes*, upon whoſe *ruine* ſhe hath built her foundation, I hope it may hold forth an *Uſe* of *humility* unto us, if not move *pity* towards the *Creature*, who the *Apoſtle* juſtly ſaith *groans* for its *Deliverance*.

It

It is on all hands confeſſed without the leaſt whiſper of Contradiction, that '*luxurious, idle* '*and vitious Nations are moſt pregnant and* '*happy in the richeſt Endowments of the mind.* ' And that *it is ordinary with divers in Extaſies,* '*Feavers, acute Diſeaſes, and during the ſtorms* '*of Love, Fear, &c. to have their Inventions* '*ſoar higher than in a more entire Health they* '*have been found after able to reach.* From whence it is deducible, that *Reaſon* (for ought we know) may be but the *effect* of thoſe *corporeal infirmities* from which without queſtion it receives *Augmentation.* Since *Wiſdom* is not found frequently mingled with *ſtrength* and *beauty.* The richeſt endowments *unſophiſticated Nature* appears to own in all things living beſides; whereas ſome, if not the generality of men outwardly *crooked* and *deformed* utter *Inventions* moſt *neatly compoſed.* The *loſs* and *defect* in one external *Senſe* or *Part* making a treble *compenſation* in the *mind*: contrary to *Beaſts,* amongſt whom thoſe of the *exacteſt Features* are moſt *uſeful* and *docile.*

Nor is it probable but ſuch *variety* of *Food* ſeparated from the blood by *Fire,* and compounded with *Sugar, Spices, Salt, Sawces, Perfumes,* with all ſorts of *Viands* relating to the *high taſte,* which eaten are convertible into our own *Bodies,* ſhould alter and add to the Faculties of the *Mind,* and fill us in the *Day* with ſome of thoſe *rational Raptures* we apprehend from the *vapours* they raiſe ſo palpably during *ſleep:* Not to be denied the effects of a *Diſtempered Brain,* and ſtrangers to ſuch *Creatures* and

and *Perſons* as are of more *natural diets*, or make their *repaſt* on *Herbs* and *leſs ſophiſticated meats* through which *flegm* is increaſed, ſo known a *retarder* of *underſtanding* as to protract the *maturity* of *children*, till by a *drier aliment* and *unnatural heat* they are expoſed to (eſpecially their *heads*) it is conſumed; a *concurrent cauſe* of this *rational advantage* we pretend to have over *Beaſts*, that wanting the uſe of *Fire*, are neceſſarily more repleniſhed with *fluid humours*, and ſo by conſequence *leſs wiſe*, though far more *agil*, *healthful and ſtrong*. Whereas thoſe to whom we allow the largeſt proportion of *underſtanding*, are *weak*, *meager*, and ſtill under ſome *courſe* of *Phyſick*, which may paſs for another *cauſe of knowledge*; the *operations* of the *mind* being moſt *prevalent* in *decrepit bodies*.

The ſame is incident to *Wine*, that doth not ſeldom *inſpire* a *Clown* with *civility*, a *Coward* with *valour*, the moſt ſordidly *Covetous* with *liberality*; and (what is moſt conducible to the Aſſertion in hand) a *Fool* with a larger proportion of *Wit* than he had, though unable to reduce it into a *habit*, by reaſon of ſome *obſtruction* or *leakage* in his *Organs*. From whence it is as apparent, that *fanſie* and *conceit* may be gratified at the prejudice of the *Senſes*, no leſs than by the uſual practice of *Students*, *Poets*, and *Accomptants* that uſe all endeavours to exclude and ſtifle the *Ideas* both of their *Eyes* and *Ears*, whoſe *Diverſions* they can by no means admit without hazarding the happy ſucceſs of all they are in labour to bring about. Whereas *Beaſts*, by reaſon of their continual *fears* find leiſure to be attentive

to

to nothing but *ſenſe*: Like a *Town beſieged* wherein all other Arts ceaſe; but what may contribute to *Relief* and *Preſervation*, becauſe *Hearing* and *Smelling* are their chiefeſt *out-Guards*, and without which they cannot in ſafety gather their *food*. Nor doth their care extend beyond this for want of that *Spur* of *Neceſſity* (formed through the mediation of their own *Arts* and *Nature*) with which *men* are pricked on to *new inventions*. Being at better *leiſure* and more *ſecurity*. Able (ſtanding in little awe but of their own *ſpecies*) to conſume thoſe Spirits in *internal contemplations*, through which both themſelves and their Fellow-Creatures are rendred more *miſerable* than by Nature, without this improvement (of what they call *Wiſdom*) they needed to have been; whilſt the other *animals* are forced to diſſipate them amongſt their *Senſes* only to purchaſe *food* and *ſafety*. Yet the *knowledge* ſo much boaſted of, is no more *ours* than *Honey* is the *Bees*, before picked up out of the *leſs-erring practices* of the more *innocent Creatures*, from whence they have deduced their beſt *principles* to the very *Arts* uſed by themſelves in the *preſervation* or *deſtruction* of their own *kind*. And theſe hoarded up in *Memory*, *the Magazine of by-paſt Events*, though poſſibly at firſt no more retentive in *mans head* than *beaſts*, till by the fumes of the former mentioned *exceſs*, ours become ſo oyly like a *Pot-lid*, and apt for *receipt*, as nothing worthy obſervation could eſcape without leaving an *impreſſion* behind it. And in this *mold* with the help of *Fire*, and a continual *refining* through Time, the *pureſt reaſon*, ſo much relied on by *Statiſts*

and *Politicians* came at first to be cast.

And that this is not obtruded upon belief under a single testimony, it may be found the Opinion of the *French Nation*, where they have not a more appolite expression for a *Fool*, than that *his Head is ill made*. No weak argument of an universal Belief, that Midwives skill doth highly conduce to an *advancement* or *depression* of *Wisdom* in a *Child*. And from hence I have been led to this wish, that the like office might be performed on the behalf of a young *Ape* (of the *Kingdom* of *Congo*, of which some years since I saw one in *England*, that bare a Symmetry, if not throughout, yet very little differing from a *childs*) whose *skull* being kept from a too sudden closing by *heat*, *swathing*, and the rest of the *ligations* used by *Nurses* to *Infants* might not unpossibly acquire reason, which once attained, the *impediments* to *speech*, (whose principal cunning lies in a *musical Division*, or *mincing a continued sound into articulate Notes*) would be no sooner discovered than removed: We enjoying many things under the favour and endeavours of *Reason*, far more difficult and remote from the Confines of Nature, than the *Coinage of Languages* rendred apparent through the *multitude* of them met with in the World. And this once acquired, though by *chance* and not altogether consonant to the exact pattern of *Nature*, *Custom*, assisted by *Imagination* might render diffusive for the future. As I believe not only many of our new purchased *qualities*, but divers of those *mans curiosity* hath imprinted upon his *own Kind* or *others*, are already become manifest

manifeſt in a *ſucceſſion of Dogs whelped without tails.* To which *mutilation* (at firſt no queſtion purely humane, or meerly accidental) Nature hath been ſo indulgent already, as inſtead of an unſightly *Bob*, to form a ſharp comely *Bone*, like the *Scut* of a *Deer*.

Now ſince we are able to *add* to, or *diminiſh* from *Natures* work, both in reference to *body* and *mind*, it cannot appear improbable, that many *alterations* (perhaps greater than we are able to imagine, or ready to believe) have had their *Flux* and *Reflux* often repeated, or changed ſince the beginning. Which may render it no *improbable Opinion*, (but as *true* as formerly it hath been *common*) that *Apes were of the ſeed of Cham*, or elſe the *by-blows of ſome wild ſtock of humanity*: the *Characters* of whoſe kind remaining no leſs manifeſt in their *Bodies*, than *affections* to *Women*: of which there are ſo many living Witneſſes, as it were ſuperfluous to endeavour to prove it. Only this may be added as a further teſtimony: that *my ſelf* have ſeen *two Monkies* that for many years did not fail to have duly a *Lunary Purgation*.

Nor is this any rare *Diſcovery*, but cited as a Report by the Lord *Mountayn* in his *Eſſays*, no leſs than we find it in the uſual practice of the *Almighty* in the *Scriptures*, '*To puniſh a ſin* '*in the ſucceſſion of a Family*, as he did ſome with *ſhort life*, others with *Leproſie*, &c. The recital of which I will fully omit, it being my *task* rather to *propoſe* than *determine*.

And if any underſtand what is ſaid here in a more *poſitive* ſenſe, they abuſe themſelves

no leſs than wrong me; who have no ſtronger Aſſertions to juſtifie this, than my weak Conjecture, which is, that *if God laid the Deprivation of Reaſon upon theſe Monſters* (for other they cannot appear to be, bearing a *ſhape* and owning *Geſtures* as various from the reſt of *Animals*, as their Conceptions are remote from the *prudence* of a *man*) 'for any pecu-'liar offence, or that *humane Luſt did cauſe it*, 'by caſting ſeed into an irrational and improper 'ſoil, there lies no cure for this beſtiality, if not 'in heat. *Cold* being a heavy Enemy to *activity* of the *mind*, though a tryed Friend to *ſtrength*, and a continuer of *perfection*. As *heat* on the contrary melts and refines the *Spirits* into a *more rational temper*. The firſt of which is exemplified in *Sheep* and *Kine*, which though uſeful, cannot be excluded the *Catalogue* of the moſt *ſimple*: For expoſing their *new-fallen Young* to the injury of the Weather, their *Pores* become ſealed up ſo cloſe as the *Groſs* and *Flegmatick* ſtrangle the *purer Spirits* only capable of that *vivacity* and *cunning* found in thoſe *Creatures* forced to uſe *Stratagems* in the gaining of their Food, whoſe *Whelps* are *houſed* in *Dens* and *Thickets*. Nor are the *foggy humours* in thoſe *Creatures* rarified by *Sweat*, moſt proper to the *heads* of *men*, that in *Horſes* being rather *ſqueezed* out by *Labour*, than diſtilled gently by *Drops*, through which *Nature* obtains an opportunity to *pick* and *chooſe*, who uncompelled will part with nothing but what is *bad* or *ſuperfluous*.

Now if the *head* be capable of molding into

to one *Figure* more apt for the production of *Reason*, than another (as it is on the side of common experience confessed) then can as little doubt be made but that it must needs have been litt upon in a far less revolution of Time than the *World* hath already passed over, if certain of her own *Chronologie*, which some have extended *many thousand of years* beyond what by *Faith* we are obliged to believe. And *Wisdom* once attained could never be lost; since (as it is reported of the *Elixar*) she receives *augmentation* and *improvement* from every *event*. And because our greater *security* and *variety* of *Food* hath suffocated and abated so much of our *sense*, as it is in no proportion able to find imployment for our *fansie*, (against whose Nature it is to be *idle*) as *that* more *entire* may do in the *Creature*; *Man* is continually *ruminating* of what is *past*, or *attentive* on what is *present*, and by *comparing* of these, is in some Mediocrity taught to determine of the *Future*. Having *Wisdom* or *Folly* objected to him, according as the *Conjecture* doth quadrate with *Truth*, and the concurrence of a *happy success*. Whereas the rest of Animals not being able to estate their *Young*, and such as succeed in their dear-bought *experiences*, (if not for want of *memory* the *mint of Knowledge*, yet out of an *incapacity* for *Discourse*, and disability to imploy such *Arts* as are only proper to *Societies* limited by *Laws*) become *stunted* in their *Knowledge*; and without *improvement*, not owning a larger *Stock* than the *Brevity* of a *turbulent life* is able to accumulate, for want of *Words*,

which coined into *Questions* and *Answers*, are only able to *Barter* our *own*, and *purchase the Wisdom* belonging to *others*.

Now if any think people were born *Wise* at the *first*, (I mean in relation to the *understanding* now *current*) they cannot but alter their Opinion upon *contemplation* of the vast *improvement* one *Age* makes of what went before, and how many *new* and more *useful Arts* are now as it were daily *invented*.

And as the *want of Words* is a total *Eclipse* of any nearer *dawn* or further *progress* in the *Creature* towards *Reason*; so we find the *confusion of Languages* no small *Remora* to the enlargement of *Mans*: The which (as is observable in some *Plagues* else) though immediately poured on us by God for *Sin*, have their radical *cause* yet extant in *Nature* it self; so a *variety* in *Dialects* may by such probabilities as these seem to be occasioned, *Speech* being but an *appellation* of *things* of which *Providence* hath bestowed many in *one place*, denied to *others*, a *diversity of Languages* must needs attend as a necessary consequence. Made yet more various and less intelligible from *moisture* and *drowth*; through whose mediocrity or excess, *sound* is rendred either *liquid* or *mute* proportionate to the *contraction* or *extension* of their *Organs* who do, or may hereafter inhabit the place. That cannot but naturally own the Causes of such Effects. Some *pumping* their *Words* out of their *Throats*, others *lower*. As I knew a tall *Scotchman* allowed a Pension from King *James*, that could frame a *Voice* at the *mouth* of his *Lungs*,

Lungs, seeming to be remote from the Ears of the neareſt By-ſtander. A *Fallacie* no leſs likely to be in practice with the *Prieſts* of *Apollo* than the *Original* of many *miraculous narrations* of *old*. And through this *variety of Tone* and *Pronunciation* it often comes to paſs, that an *Engliſhman* is not able readily to converſe with a *Stranger* in one and the ſame *Latine*. From whence we may modeſtly obſerve that *Nature* had the *Confuſion of Tongues in Potentia*, before God reduced it into an *actual Plague*. Who did not then create it anew, no more than he did the *Rain-bow*. But did only accommodate this Puniſhment to his preſent purpoſe.

Now though the *multiplicity* of *Idioms* may in ſome part Cloud our *Knowledge* from the *Experiences* to be gained by *Strangers*, yet the *Time* uſually ſpent, and the *hardſhip* endured at *School* to diſſipate theſe *mediums*, and to learn to ſee through them, may not unpoſſibly be heavier and more tedious than the *curſe* it ſelf.

It being likelier to have been the voice of *Cuſtom* than *Reaſon* that *fonted* a bare *Knowledge* in *Tongues* with the *title* of *Learning*. In the proſecution of which the *Spirits* of *Children* are blunted, and *Wit* exchanged for *inſignificant Terms*, and a *ſtupid* ignorance of all things elſe, under the tyrannical Regiment of an ignorant *Pedagogue*. Who if good for any thing, that *Art* muſt needs go ſo averſe to the grain of his Underſtanding, as he cannot but be a meer *Emperick* in it. Apparent in the moſt,

becauſe ſeldom undertaken, but as a *laſt Reſerve*, and after more eaſie and thriving *Profeſſions* have been tried. Where if the *ſalary* prove not more *neceſſary* to his *Fortune*, than ſo unmanly an *Erudition* doth to the miſerable *child*, 'tis eaſie to gueſs who drove the Bargain. And this *Plague* paſt ſome to bail themſelves out of the *Deſerts* of *Want*, and the Sons of others leſs needy to attain an inſight into ſuch *Tongues* as our Anceſtors *Folly*, not *Reaſon*, prompted them to, preferr before *Experience* the *Dialect* of the *World*, and with which you may travel further and in more ſecurity than with all the *Learning* in *Europe*.

The *child* now in his moſt *Docile age* to *ſtudy men*, and *ſofteſt temper* to take the *impreſſion* of *patience* and *compliance*, is by a learned Tutor and brazen-faced *impudence* gained in the *Schools* ſwept and garniſhed to receive a *ſeven-fold* more *wilful* and *indomitable ignorance* in relation to what is convenient and becoming a *Citizen of the World*. A falſe Opinion of what he *hath not* covering from his apprehenſion ſuch *defects* as really he hath.

Such as make *Learning* a full imployment have their *Judgment* ſo over-awed by *Antiquity*, that like *Players* they dare preſent nothing in publick, but what their *Poets* have left them written. And if any exception can be made againſt that general *Rule*, which concludes *a too long continuance at the Univerſity no great advancer of parts*, it will be found amongſt ſuch as paſſed under the notion of *Raſcals* and *Libertines*. It being obvious to proof (if I were willing

willing to regiſter thoſe *glorious Names* under ſuch a *monſtrous head*) that none have graced *Learning* more than ſome the *Univerſity* hath exploded. *Invention* being an *Art* of too noble a nature, to be learned under an *Apprentiſhip*, or the great reſtraint of the *Schools*, that ſpoil and dead the freſh and *piquant* taſte of later and *new Wits* by putting them into *old forms*, patched up with *Sentences*, which doth unavoidably make a *rent* in the *Authors ſtile*. It being impoſſible for one to write or behave himſelf ſuitable to the guſto of all, or of the major part that hath not ſpent his time in a more *univerſal commerce* than the guize of an *Academy* is able to afford. And if any doubt of this *Truth*, ſhew the *Infidel* a *meer Scholar* in the *company of Ladies*; or (that failing to convert him,) a *managing* his *Horſe* or *Eſtate* after the old *Idolater* his *Father* or *Uncle* is dead; who thought no other *Calves* deſerved to be *Worſhipful* that had not learned to bleat after the *mode* of *Dan* or *Bethel*.

The ancient, and indeed moſt *natural Tryal* for *Land* in this Nation (ſince *Strength* and *Valour* meaſures out the livelyhood and Place of abode to every Creature) was by *Combat*: At this day reduced into the *Art of Fencing*, whoſe exacteſt Profeſſors are not ſeldom confounded and beaten out of their *play*, by an *active Country-man*, that owns no more *Cunning* than a *robuſt arm*, and a *quick eye* is able to inform a *Cudgel* withal, eaſily found in every Wood: becauſe managed contrary to a *premiſed method*. The practice of the *Science*, (far eaſier called

Noble

Noble than proved so) had only acquainted the *Fencer* with, who becomes further to seek, and is put in a greater Disarray through this more *natural*, but less *methodical* way, than another possibly might have been, that deals his Blows by a less Artificial Direction. The *Faculties* of *Soul* and *Body* being observed at long running to receive seldom amendment, often *Detriment* from the Restrictions of *Art*: unless in things like *Painting* meerly *delusive*, or *Grafting* and *Planting* wholly laborious. These being Imbellishers, if not Restorers of *Nature*, whereas the *Liberal Sciences* (as the *Schools* call them) labour to confine *Experience* within *General Rules*, though found to be as diffusive and numberless as the Accidents and *Events* depending upon *Motion*. And through whose mediation alone, Reason is capable of a further *improvement*.

As Mans refusing no *nourishment* hath already been owned (and I doubt not but under the favour of some seeming probability at least) for an *Advancer* of that *Wisdom*, we transcend the rest of *Gods Creatures* in. So I presume it may as rationally be proposed for an *occasion* of long Life: since through so various a *change* of *meats* the several *humours* of our *Bodies* are in a continual vicissitude so stimulated and held in such an equal contest, as neither *Heat* nor *Cold*, *Drowth* nor *Moisture* are suffered to exceed that just proportion Nature hath assigned to maintain all things in Being: Few *Creatures* attaining to so *long a continuance* as *Elephants*, *Horses*, *&c.* most Domestical with men, which by

by reaſon of the great *variety* of *Herbs* they feed on in Summer, and their *drie Diet* in *Winter* (noted by *that honourable Reſtorer of Philoſophy* for a great *prolonger of Life*) do not ſeldom reach the moſt ordinary Ages of Men. And amongſt *Birds*, thoſe of *Prey*, *Parrats* and *Geeſe*; the *firſt* feeding on all ſorts of *Fleſh*, nor will they refuſe *Fiſh* upon occaſion; As the *ſecond* of every thing eatable by us; The *third* upon what is held *venomous* to humane *Nature*, beſides *Graſs* and *Corn*. Whereas *Doves*, *Sparrows*, &c. are of *ſhort continuance*. To which I ſhall only add, in favour of my former Aſſertion, that the *Fowls* firſt mentioned come ſhort in *underſtanding* of nothing that hath *Wings*.

I heard it firſt affirmed by a *French Student* in *Phyſick*, and known it verified by my own *experience* in relation to many, that all *Fowl may be eaten*, (if not for *Delight*) in a *Siege*, or time of *neceſſity*, without danger. *Opinion* rather than *Nature* having cauſed a *diſguſt* generally ariſing againſt ſome (of themſelves) *delicate meats*, as my ſelf can atteſt for *Young bald Buzzards*, *Sparrow-hawks*, *Owls*, &c. Together with a number of things more an effeminate niceneſs hath exploded our *Tables*. Yet in the mean time *Muſhroms*, *Frogs*, *Whelks*, *Snails*, *&c.* have crawled into the *Diſhes of Princes*, and are daily eaten in their Courts for *Dainties*, which amongſt other *Viands* not in uſe amongſt our *Anceſtors*, are not unlikely to occaſion other Vapours than their more unſophiſticated *food* did Alembeck the heads

heads of ſuch orderly Perſons withal, whoſe *Dreams* if not *waking imaginations* muſt needs differ from ours. As I can inſtance from a repeated *Experiment* of my own, who encouraged through the former mentioned *Frenchmans* confidence, did eat at Supper a conſiderable quantity of the *Green-wood-ſpite* with the *Long-Tongue*. After which I found my *Sleep* taken up with *uncouth*, and (as I then apprehended) no *impertinent Fanſies*, the cauſe I made a ſecond *Experiment*, with the like ſucceſs. From whence may be deduced, that if our *nouriſhment*, or any outward or inward *application* or *digeſtion* may be of force to inſpire *Sleep* with various *Dreams*, which remembred waking, ſeem not unworthy our own moſt ſerious *meditations* no leſs than the attention of others more wiſe. *Man* alone that hath extended his *food* over all things eatable cannot but participate of every Effect they are either in groſs or reſpectively liable unto, and ſo capable of a more diffuſive *knowledge* than the *Creatures*, not able to digeſt that *variety Cuſtom* hath rendred the *ſtomachs of men* familiar withal. *Theirs* being commonly of *one temper*, and without mixture. *Ours hot* and *cold, dry and moiſt*, bordering upon the next Confines of *Poiſon*; and not ſeldom a *Compoſition* of all *Contrarieties* together. Now if our *Bodies* (as Dr. *Brown* no leſs wittily than truly ſaith) '*are in a ſmall revolution of time* '*licked from our Trenchers*, why may not what we eat, work as effectually upon our *ſpirits* as *fleſh*, and as well waking as aſleep?

Upon

Upon the first view of *Cornelius Agrippa's Vanity of Sciences*, I did applaud his *diligence*, in becoming so versed in every *Profession*, no less than his resolute detection of their Abuses: By which he confirms me in the *opinion*, that what we esteem *Wisdom*, is of no more signal *advantage* (as I have often said) than what is deducible out of the weakness of others. Yet upon inspection into the Bottom of his *reprehensions*, I find the world is held up and kept in plight meerly by *cheating*: so as those *Trades* he hath reduced under a numeration are not only guilty, but *himself*, and all such as make it their *Pastime* if not their business to be *sceptical* in what is generally looked upon as *certain*; and to fish for more probable *Truths* in in the *Depths* of Nature. Where nothing is found pure without mixture, (if we may not with reverence say *sophistication*) to her very products of *life and death*. Since the one would be as far to seek of any *content* in the absence of *Hope*, as the other of *Bitterness* out of the presence of *Fear*. Now since the *Mother of all things* useth such slights to flatter her children into the act of *Generation*, for her own sake of *continuance*, and for the same hath represented *Death* in the most odious aspect, to *terrifie* us out of the *desire of the Grave*, (which though opposite to her present intention, cannot but be as necessary to a future, and that which *Religion* teacheth, is only capable to make us in the least measure happy) how should her Creature *Man* produce more useful, or gather more lasting *Fruit* than those of *Sodom*, that

that vaniſh upon the offer of *Fruition*, ſince the moſt beneficial *Calling* or *Imployment* is uncapable of affording a more *honourable ſalary* than *Induſtry* can worm out of the *wants* of *others*? From whence we may ſafely affirm, that *ſin* is the chiefeſt *Task-maſter*, ſince the moſt are buſied about what is *deſtructive*, *ſuperfluous*, or *uncertain*. And to remove this from *vulgar underſtandings*, the beſt and readieſt Chapman for all things adulterated in reference to *Honour*, *Profit*, and *univerſal Good and Tranquility*, the preſervation of which hath diminiſhed much of the Natural Stock belonging to particulars. Such ranting *Terms* as *Agrippa* mentions, are ſtuffed into all *Sciences*. Through which the moſt familiar things are rendred *unintelligible* without a *Lexicon*. And in no other reſpect uſeful, than like *Gawdy Shells*, and Gliſtering Stones to adorn the *Fountains of Learning* towards the gratification of their Eyes, who led by the *Ocean* of *Books* that daily iſſue out, come to viſit them like the *Heads* of *Nilus*. Though ſuch *Canting* cannot but be deſtructive to nearer *Relations*, by which every Profeſſion is furniſhed with an opportunity of *Deceit*, to the end of the Chapter of *Trade*. The continuance of which, renders the *Buyer* oftentimes further to ſeek in the knowledge of the *Name*, than the *Thing*. An inconvenience ſo viſible and *Epidemical*, as it could never have come under my Pen, had it continued within the Circle of *Men* obnoxious to the like fault, and not fallen ſo heavy upon *Children*, whoſe miſery no leſs than *loſs of Time*, I have not yet

yet forgot; indured and spent upon *forms* little different from those of a *Gally*, to no more thriving an intention in reference to the *Publick*, than *Apothecaries* paint and adorn their *Shops* which is to delude the *ignorant*, and hide from *inspection* such Arts as lie more in *Parade* than *Substance*. The occasion not only of a greater expence of *years* in this *Lymbo*, to the loss of the more useful *vision* of *Experience*, but a smaller proficiencie in *Learning*, such being held so long viewing the *Superscription*, as small leisure (if any desire) is left to consider the *contents*. Nor doth the *universality* of this abuse render it more tolerable than the *multitude*, as well as *variety of Company* can the *pains of Hell*. *Learning* running in this course so contrary to what she professes, which is to render *Reason more plain*, that she brings, like *Eve*, a *tattered Apron* to cover it.

Though *Chalk-stones* may appear of too weak and soft a temper to perfect a *Fabrick*, yet they become useful and necessary to mark and delineate the *first Grounds* for the greatest and most exact *Designs*: So *Idea's* the Embroy's of Knowledge, are not seldom found in *heads* apter for *Conception* than *Production*. It being a labour proper and peculiar to *Jupiter* alone to be at once delivered of so exact a *Minerva*, and so strongly armed as may be proof against *Detraction* and *Emendation*.

Yet *rambling Wits* ought (in my poor Judgment) to be indulged, because by crumbling their *Conjectures* on all Subjects, they have in

in every Age further inriched the World, than *ſolider underſtandings* are known to have done. Which may appear upon *Trial* fitter for *Nurſes* than *Mothers*, whom in a ſhort time they teach their *Children* to forget, and *call that by their own names*, never coſt them more pains than to *educate* and *cloath* ſutably to the apprehenſions of men. A *truth* ſo manifeſt, that if all the *Arts* (not to mention the *Altars*) were forced to refund what hath been primitively borrowed from the *Poets*, they would (if not be *naked*) want many of their richeſt *Ornaments*. And if we call to account who firſt did embelliſh our *Language*, we ſhall not find them amongſt the *greateſt Clerks*, but ſuch as were more converſant with *Men* than *Books*. For though the firſt, like flegmatick *Cattle*, hanging their *Noſes* ſtill over their *Tables*, may appear more *plump* and *voluminous*, yet ſuch as with the *Eagle* ſurvey the *World*, cannot but be more *active* and *Exemplary*.

Nature holds out proof againſt all *conſtraint*. For if violated in one *ſenſe*, it is ſtill for a gratification of ſome other *paſſion* or *affection*, at the preſent more prevalent. *Conies*, *Ferrets*, *&c.* do not ſeldom devour their *young*, but 'tis always for want of Water or Meat. Nor are *Women* (out of Fear and Shame of what *Law* hath rather forged than found in the *Records* of Nature) leſs cruel to their *children*, when ſqueezed between the Bark of *Reproach*, and the dreadful *Tree* of *Deſtruction*, they make them away.

For

For though *Nature* hath placed *Mother* and *Child* in a relation next *in blood*; She hath removed them many Degrees off in that of *Affection*, ever most prevalent in reference to *Themselves*; Especially when *all hope* determines as it doth here.

To conclude, *Self Murther* (as we call it, though reckoned amongst the highest results of *Valour*) being still to avoid a *present*, or put to silence all expectation of *Future Misery*, esteemed more than *Death*, may no more than the rest be contrary to the award of this *universal Mistress*, whose highest intention is *Well-being*, no more than it is against Reason *Of two Evils to make choice of the Least*.

No *Element* is found lyable to a more general *Diminution* than it is subject to an universal *Excess*. Manifest in the *Sea*, that receives not any Augmentation from the greatest Confluence of *Land-Floods*. The Reason is, That her *Comings-in* are Mathematically adjusted to her *Layings-out*. All possible Abatements in one place being re-imburs'd in another, by a continual *Bartering* and *Exchange*. From whence through a Natural *Chymistry* so much is *Commuted* or Calcin'd as only makes good the *Principal Stock* without incroachment upon Superfluity or Want.

Such as seek further after their own *Original*, or are in Quest of a remoter Cause than *God*, prosecute a no less impertinent Study, and from whence no more certain Solution can be expected than Conjecture is able to return their Curiosity, who endeavour to find out

what Mutations may ſucceed after Death hath determined their Speculation ſhall ceaſe. It being equally impoſſible to diſcover our firſt *Production*, as for a *Child*, without Direction, to know the *Midwife* that brought him into the World, or the preciſe part of it whereon he was born. Wherefore out of the power of any thing but *Omniſciency* to extend a *Pedigree* beyond the Line of ordinary *Generation*. That related by *Moſes* pointing more to *Obedience*, and an exact Obſervation of the *Sabbath* (not till long after the Creation indulged through any reveal'd Practice) than the fomenting of *Underſtanding* not improperly alleadged for the *Diſcoverer* if not the *Occaſion* of *Infelicity*; Man remaining in a more entire *Tranquillity* under a Calm *Ignorance* than ſuch a turbulent and indeterminable *Knowledge*. Which like the *Aprons* it firſt produced, is patched up with ſo many *Leaves* of *Contrary Operations*, *Ends*, and *Applications*, that under pretence of a *Covering* for our *Shame*, it doth daily *reveal* more *Miſchief*, and is by reaſon of a *Subtilty* learn'd from the *Serpent*, able to Conceal greater *Malice*, *Sin and Wickedneſs* (The Original of Infelicity) than *Naked-mankind* had ever been Capable of without it. So as no thanks remains due to it, but what may reſult from the *Abbreviation* of *Life*. It being an undeniable Truth, That the production of every *Child* is, if not an Advancer of the *Monarchy of Reaſon* in its own Perſon, the doubted *Subject* of others *Deceit*, and *Oppreſſion*. Humane *Wiſdom* being of little larger *Extent*, than what it is able to purchaſe and find

room

room for through an *Incroachment* and Advantage made and taken of others *Folly* and *Defects*. And from this the *whole World* comes to be so universally *Inhabited*, Every *Family* seeking rest by *Evasion*. It being as Natural for *Strife* to abound where *Want* is as for *Strength* to prevail. Wherefore *Sin* must needs be an Effect if not of *Eating*, of *Excess*: Through which *man* out of *Love*, for *Himself*, came to *Rob* others, And to obviate the *Differences*, could not but arise from *Inequality* in *Strength*, *Appetites*, and *Desires*, *Government* was instituted. Towards whose Favour all *Laws* both *Civil and Divine* are either taught, or do naturally incline. Yet if any in *Curiosity* desire to make *scrutiny* into their own *Original*, I cannot but with *Solomon* send them to the *Insects* for their further Satisfaction, and perswade them to be more studious after the *Causes* of such *Animals* as the *Sun* doth yearly *Create* or *regenerate*. And to enquire whether *matter* may not be so *prepared* and adapted by us as it shall be Capable of *Animation* through a propensity to that regular and even proportion of *Weight and Measure*, naturally required by the *First Agents of Life*. Nor can any Cause of Discouragement be well apprehended in the Prosecution of *Lifes Original*, through a more curious Inspection into the *Production of Insects*, which once perfectly survey'd and found out, cannot but open a Window towards the prospect of *Our own beginning*. Since he that hath discovered the *Spring* by which a small *Watch* is Inlived, not to be denyed the

nearer workmanſhip, cannot in reaſon be ſo far to ſeek what cauſeth and continues the Operations of a *Church-Clock*; Their *Motions* being one and the ſame, no leſs than their *Engines*, though bound up in a ſmaller Volume, and ſupported by more *Leggs* and *Feet*. Nor are there found above one or two conſiderable *Obſtructions* lying in the way of this endeavour. And thoſe no further binding than a Commiſſion received from *Cuſtome* hath power to oblige. Of which the Firſt is an *Implicite* and blind adhering to the *Votes* and *Preſidents* derived to us from *Antiquity*, not conſidering, There may not unpoſſibly lye as vaſt a *World* of *Truth* beyond this rotten *Bar*, as *Experience* hath ſhewn us of *Land* and *Nations*, which never fell within the Compaſs of the *Old Maps* or theſe *Writers* Cognizance. And as this renders the further Indeavour after knowledge, a *Loſt-labour* in the Conceit of *Dunces*; So our Torrify'd-Brain'd *Zealots*, though as great a *Miſtake* in *Scripture* apprehend it as *Damnable*. Yet the *Reaſon* of the Firſt, no leſs than the *Conſciences* of the Latter might receive Satisfaction from Dr. *Hackwells Apology*, were they capable of it. To which may be added, That ſince many *Words* and *Actions* recited of the *Patriarchs*, do in all Judgements deviate from the exacter Lines of *Morality* (The Principal, if not the only End of their Manifeſtation.) What Caution can be given, or Aſſurance taken for their *Infallibility* in *Philoſophy*? the inculcation of which was never *intended*. what is found ſaid in Relation to it, rather

accommodated

accommodated to the *vulgar Opinion*, than any *Imperative Truth*. From whence may be gathered, That *Joshua's Bidding the Sun stand still*, is no more Argument for the *Motion* of it, Than *Jacob's deluding his Brother* may be pleaded in the Justification of *Mine*. Wherefore He that out of a venerable Esteem of the *Sacred Text*, gives Credit to a *Prolongation* of the *Day*, and so a full performance of all the End and Purposes for which the request was made, it matters not in relation to *Faith*, whether it resulted from the *Sun's* or the *Earth's Motion*. *Joshua* being the *General* of an *Army* not a professed *Philosopher*. So no less uncapable of a *Mistake* in the *Mathematicks* then *Elijah* was in the Calculation of Gods *Servants* whom he summed up in his peculiar Person, till his *Arithmetick* was better regulated by the *Essence* of *Number*, &c. Nor did our *Saviour* discountenance this Opinion, when He according to the usual *Mode* of the Place, did lift up his *Eyes towards Heaven*, Though he did know, and Teach us That the *Father* was not only resident in *Himself*, but together with all Things *In* and *Under* the *Earth*. As for *Other Rubbs* lying in the Way of a further *Inquisition after Knowledge* (all being readier to cast *Reproach* and *Ink* in the *Face* of a *Projector*, than to assist for the present, or help in the Future, unless after *Death*) To *Improve* to the best Advantage what pehaps he has not strength alone to *produce*. I look upon them in *Some* as a Design to *guard* their *Callings* from *Inspection*: And in *Others* as an *Obstinate*

Ignorance engendered out of *Shame* to Confeſs *Themſelves* no leſs than their *Teachers*, to have for ſo many Ages, been Promoters *Of*, and ſatisfied *With* what now doth plainly appear to be meer *Figments*, &c.

Fancy is the *Mould* and *Pencil* that ſhapes the *Form*, and caſts the *Colour* upon *Man* and *Beaſt*, according to the Pattern preſented to it by the *Senſes*. Though it may be look'd upon in the *Schools*, under an inferiour *Notion*, where the *Cuſtome* is, to be moſt *Fruitful* in *Terms* when they are moſt *Barren* of *Underſtanding*, Tying Knot upon Knot, when ſhe finds her *Nailes* too *ſhort*, for the *unravelling* of the Firſt. Eſpecially upon his Endeavours to enlarge *The Excellencies of Man* (whom in a high *Rant* ſhe ſtiles a *Little World*) above his *Fellow-Creatures*. And to make this good, places in one part of his *Head*, a receptacle for *Memory*, and others for *Invention*, *Reaſon*, &c. Beſides a Number of *Manſions* more, Scituated in the *Heart* for *Vertues*, *Paſſions*, and *Affections*. Though upon a ſtrict *Scrutiny the ſame Goods* may be found in the *Beaſt*, and far more uſeful, and leſs Contaminated through a *Greaſie-Diet*, and Exorbitant Purſuit after *Pleaſure*, by which *Men* become *worſe* than *Beaſts*, gratifying their *Taſte* at the Prejudice of all the reſt of the *Senſes*, the Natural *Guards* of *Safety*, yet manifeſt amongſt the more temperate *Indians*, reported (Like our *Engliſh Crowes*) to Smell *Gunpowder* at a great Diſtance gaining nothing by the Change but an *Imperfect Reaſon*, which with That *Inchanted Horn* blown

blown by the *Satyre*, doth terrifie more than Confirm or reſolve, ſuch as own and make uſe of it. Yet we paſs over in the *Creature*, greater and more certain *Advantages*, without Notice or under Contempt. Forgetting, That if we allow them *Fancy*, which like a a *Looking-Glaſs* doth not only retain the Outward *Figures* Senſe preſents us with, But doth reverberate thoſe *Cenſures* upon it, as are obſerved to perplex or quiet the *Paſſions* in both, What huge Advantage is left *Man* to boaſt of, more, than that it may be Better *Scituated*, or is of a *Greater Circumference* in *Us* than *Them?* Growing like the *Chriſtalline Humour* in the *Eyes* quicker from a *Variation of Objects*. And hence cannot be denyed to reſult all the *Wiſdom* diſcernable in both, with which by reaſon of *Diſcourſe*, We are able to make the *Lowder Noiſe*, though *They* are not found *Quite ſilent*, and no leſs ready than able in caſe of *Danger*, *to adviſe one the other*, as every *Fowler* can upon his Knowledge atteſt. Yet the whole Extent of both our *Capacities* lyes in no larger a *Circle*, than that of *Others* Follies. Only in Things not yet fallen within the Compaſs of *Experience* and in relation to *Prognoſtication*, or *Prediction*, the *Creature* hath the *Preheminence*, out of a more accurate *Vivacity* in *Senſe*.

The *World* labours of a *Double Quartane*, wherein the Number of *Good days* (if any be) are far exceeded by The *Bad*. The *Serenity* of the *Spring* being over-voted through the *Scortching Heat* in *Summer*, and the *Cold* in *Winter*.

Winter. Besides the interruptions met with arising from her own private *Distempers*. The same dismal *Fatality* attends *Youth* and *Age*. In which *Sickness* and other *Calamities* suitable to both Seasons causeth in all not only a *Necessity*, but in some a *Desire* to put themselves upon The *Tryal of Death*, And return again into the *Lapp* of that *Earth* to and from whence all Things do in a Certain Vicissitude Go, and Come; Which may authorize a Belief "*That all things were not Created for their* "*Own sakes, but the meer Interest of Nature,* "*which abhors to be Idle, or to leave any in* "*Impregnant Condition*. And from hence may arise another *Conjecture*; That the *Moon* no less than the *Stars* may be as well replenished with *Inhabitants* as the *Earth*, and subject to the same *Changes*, in relation to What it produceth Though *Stable* and so long permanent it *Self*, as *God* in his Eternal Decree hath determined they shall remain, Being subject to no *Dissolution*, but from the Force of that *Command* did at first establish them, together with all things extant. Among which, though some are observed to *Wear out and perish*, they are as it were but The *External Ornaments* and *Household stuff* which within a short Revolution of Time do receive a fresh *Renovation* from the *Sun*, The highest and most splendid result of *God's Beauty* our Mortal Eyes (unsupported by *Faith*) are able to Discern.

Which may afford Cause of *Pity* for some of the *Heathen* that made It the Object of Their *Worship*, who finding it the *Cause* of such

ſuch viſible *Reſurrections* preſumed it might be the *Original* of all *Things*. Imagining the *Power* of *Continuance* and *Preſervation* equal to that of *Creation*, not being able to ſee higher, for want of the light of *The Word* of *God*.

It may be no Improbable *Paradox*, That where the *Earths magnetical Effects* ceaſe, There ſome other no leſs *Active* power begins to operate with a like Motion another way. Which granted, it can be no Prodigious Conjecture That ſuch *Birds* as are obſerved to *Inn* or *Board* in this *Clyme* only for ſome certain *months*, maintain a like Temporary *Commerce* with other *Planets*, as they are found to do amongſt us, according to the reſpective *Advantages* Nature hath taught them to make of *Times* and *Seaſons*. And that their Paſſage is without much *Difficulty* may be aſſerted from the *Punctual Dayes* they keep yearly to *Come* and *Go* in. Not poſſibly to be obſerved were they obnoxious to any Obſtruction from *Wind* and *Weather*, or the leaſt other Contingency lying in their *Rhode*: which the revolution of a ſhorter Space than Men are found to live could not chuſe but diſcover. And that the *Place they come from* relates to the *Earth* admits the moſt probable Tryal from *us*, which being an *Iſland* may beſt obſerve whether they do appear firſt by the *Seaſide* or in the *Midland*: and if the later (as I have heard it often affirmed the *Cuckow* is univerſally ſeen the Second of *April*) The Aſſertion may be allowed, in reaſon, the Sentence of Probability, if not of an unqueſtionable *Truth*, That *Woodcocks*

cocks are ſome Years in great plenty by the *Shore* in *Norfolk* cannot be denyed, But yet it is as manifeſt, That at the ſame time their Appearance is as numerous in the moſt *In-Land Counties*. Nor is it Neceſſary that they ſhould all deſcend in a *Line*. Though Thouſands of *Feldefers* and *Thruſhes* have been ſeen within the Compaſs of a *mile* and none round about. Nor doth *Weariſomneſs* appear about any but ſuch as come off from the *Sea*; (which may not unpoſſibly have miſtaken their Way) or any Signs of a New *Reſurrection*, their *Plumage* being Smooth, and *Bodies plump*; So that I my Self have ſeen both *Swallowes* and *Hobbies build* and *tread* upon their firſt Appearance, as if they had no other buſineſs in this *World* than to *Lye-in*, and produce their *Young*; as *Fiſhes* are noted to change their *Coaſt* upon the like Arrand, *&c.*

I Believe it poſſible for *Birds* not of the ſame *Kind* and *Plume* to Engender with Succeſs and to an huge *Imbelliſhing of Nature*, and as great an *Improvement* of her *ſtore*. And this was by ſome Acquaintance of mine put under Experiment before theſe Wars, that had *Large Cages of Wyer* wherein were put together only *Hens* of *ſome ſorts*, and *Cocks* of another. How it did anſwer Expectation I know not, yet am Confident it might ſucceed, eſpecially in reference to thoſe nouriſhed through a like Suſtenance, ſince my Self ſaw an *Hawk* owned the *Plume and ſhape* between a *Hobby* and a *Taſſel-Gentle*. Nor is it contrary to the grain of Probability to endeavour a Breed betwixt *Hares*

and

and *Coneys*, an *Ordinary Cat* and a *Civet*; The Head of which *ſpecies* is by the reſemblance of the *muſcles* no leſs than all *ſignes and geſtures* of the *Lyon*. And between whom there remains leſs Difference in proportion than an *Iriſh Grey-Hound* compared with a *Lap-Dog*. *Animals* no leſs than *Plants* receiving notorious Changes from the *Climates* out of which they were at firſt tranſported, proving for the moſt part *Largeſt* towards the *Sun*. Nor is it doubted but a *Dog-Fox* and an *Ordinary Bitch* will generate. As I heard the *Laſt Marqueſs* of *Hambleton*'s *Father* verifie he ſaw in *Scotland*. Nor did thoſe *Huge* and *ſtrange-Headed Deer* ſent for Preſents to *King James*, fail to *Cohabit* with *Ours* and *have young*. Now he that would obſerve the *Affinity* in the *Food* and *Bigneſs* of *Beaſts* and *Birds*, and put none but them together, I doubt not but in the Abſence of their own kind they might eaſily be drawn to joyn.

One Day ruminating upon *Pride*, and the diſmal Effects it draws upon *Mankind*, I had all the *Poſtures* and *Evidences* brought in againſt thoſe arraigned for this *Diabolical Paſſion* acted before me by a *Turkey-Cock*. Who ſtood priding himſelf no leſs in the *Sun* and proſperities of the *Spring* than *Nebuchadnezzar* did on the Battlements of his Palace. From whence I began to Conclude it *Natural*, and ſo not radically Evil, No more than *Anger* or *Love*. Therefore under the *Notion* of an Enquiry into the Advantages *God* hath given us above Others; A perfect *Knowledge* of

our

our *own good Parts* is so far remote from *Pride* that it is rather a *Spur* to *Vertue*, And so only Depraved not Invented by the *Devil*, Who with all his *Chimistry* is not able to Convert the *seeds* of a Natural Effect into the *Root* of *Evil*; Though he hath perverted This, as Many things else into *Malignity against God*. The least of whose *Beauty* is sufficient to advance our Thoughts above *our selves*, in which Case, *It is* rather a *Rapture*, than a *sin*.

Characters

CHARACTERS AND LETTERS, &c.

A Character of *Honour*.

Honour is one of the grand *Impoſtures* of the Earth; through whoſe falſe Splendour, *unadviſed Ambition* is, as it were, *Trepan'd* out of its *Life*, *Liberty*, &c. No *Folly* tranſcending theirs, eſteem themſelves only *Happy* in a vain *Title*, or *Syllable*; at the beginning pronounced by the *Prince*, and after reverberated by the *Meager*, empty, and hollow *Eccho*, of the *inſignificant Rabble*; no leſs ready, upon the *Change* of *Fortune*, to *Murther*, than *Father* all *Marks* of *Deſert*; to thoſe very *Particular* ones, their own

own Indulgence had informed. *Opinion* being for the moſt part printed in ſuch *blind Ink*, as it hardly remains legible, to the *Second Generation*. The Merit of the firſt *Proprietor* becoming mortified by *Oblivion*, or quite diſſipated, and loſt in the *Wilder Fields* of a no leſs *Numerous*, than *Vitious* Poſterity. So remote from improving any *Talents* left them by their *Anceſtors*, as like the improvident Uſurer in the *Goſpel*, they do not only expoſe them to *Ruſt*, and *Cankers*, but waſte the Eſtate, with all other glorious Endowments in which they were wrapped.

The *Promoter* of their *Family*, becoming by this means, an Occaſion of the *Ruine* of it. It lying in the *Nature*, no leſs than the *Cuſtom* of *Honour*, to put as unreaſonable an *Exciſe* on the *Vices*, as the *Vertues* of its *Owners*. I never thought it *Prudence*, or *Diſcretion*, to articulate over-ſeverely on the worſt of *Modes*. I have had the *Good*, or *Ill-Fortune* to be *Born* and *Bred* under; yet it ſeems to Croſs the Grain of *Wiſdom*, if not of *Candid Charity*, to *arraign as guilty of Abſurdity*, all we find in ordinary Practice *abroad*, though on the other ſide the *Pale* of *Chriſtianity*. And for a particular inſtance; That, uſed amongſt the *Turks*: where no *Title* but what belongs to the *Emperour*, is made *Hereditary*.

"*Honour being hardly managable within* "*the Compaſs of Decency, by any are not perfect* "*in the Steps that lead to it.* Splendid *Epithets*, where there reſides no real *Ability* in the Party to deſerve them, Cheating the *Beholders* by

by an Expectation of *more Vertue*, and the *Poſſeſſour* with *leſs*, than his *Paraſites* (a Vermine *Capital Fortunes* are infeſted withall) may have poſſibly inſinuated into his formerly *Suborned imagination*. But to deſcend to a more exact *Definition* of *Honour*: It is a meer *Ray* or *Beam* darted from the *Favour* of a *Prince*, who in one body contains the *Abſtract* of all *Delated Dignities*. And the Reward of every Deſert is either *Real*, or by him ſuppoſed, in the *Nature* or *Actions* of thoſe he thinks fit to advance: Amongſt which none are more glorious, than they in *Turky*; where *Worth* is alwayes found the *Antecedent* to every *Reward*. Thoſe in *Chriſtendom*, that relate wholly to the *Paſſions*, and *Affections* of the *Donor*, not appearing *ſo Natural*, but *further remote* from the purer and *unſophiſticated* Elements of *Majeſty*, than what is found inherent in the Party. The true Cauſe of *Advancement* amongſt us, being, commonly, ſo *trivial*, and *foul*, as for Shame, they forbore to recite it in their *Patent*. From whence, ſome may Conclude, thoſe *Diſparities* amongſt Men proceeded at firſt, like *Hills* and *Dales*, from the *Deluge of Pride*, So long, a *Succeſſion* of *Government*, hath poured upon the *Face* of the *Earth*. *Courts* by ſuch *Canting Terms* advancing their particular *intereſt*; which would be abated, were the *Devourers*, in an equal *Parallel* with thoſe they *feed on*. The *Rabble*, for want of a more *elated Prudence*, imagining their *Governours* to proceed, like the *Gyants of old*, from ſome *Diviner Extraction* than their *Own*. Not *wiſe* enough

to

to apprehend, That *Honour* hath no advantage, *really*, in it Self, but what it is able to deduce from the *Lower Conditon*, and *baseneſs* of *Others*. All *Titles*, to *Thoſe* relating to *God Himſelf*, as they were *abſent*, before the *Creation*; So Reaſon informs us, they could not be *Preſent* now, were there no Creatures, endued with ſo much underſtanding, as to be able to pronounce them. The moſt reluctent *Honour* being *Offuſcated*, and *blinded* in the *Shades* of *Solitude*. Wherefore, if it had a *Name*, it wanted an *Owner*, till ſomething was made willing to promote it. No *Age*, ever repreſented it more *Naked* to the *World*, than *This* we live in. Whereas the *Jews* do in *Italy*, by the *Ancient Roman Coynes*, So, the *Grave Viſages* of 25 *Biſhops* have been ſtruck off, and put upon many *Thouſand Presbyterians*; whereupon the *Image*, and *Superſcription* of the *Primitive Church*, is quite defaced, and *Obliterated*, through the *Impreſs* they are exchanged for: which owns no worth, but from the *Gravity* of the *Fiſt*. Being it ſelf, of no greater *Antiquity*, than *John Calvin*, who did not but with ſome Difficulty as *Boys* do *Giggs*, whip this *Younger Government* out of a *Word*, taught for many *Ages* to ſignifie *Epiſcopacy* only; making it currant in *Geneva*. Now, if it be no leſs frequent in the *Practice* of Men, than in the *Dialect* of the *Scriptures* to *rob God of his Honour*; why ſhould any, but meerly *Mortal*, place *Stability* in it? Eſpecially, ſince the *Traſh* theſe Earthly *Tumours* ſwell withall, is by the Baſeſt of, *&c.* render'd *ſo perſpicuous*.

Valour

Valour and *Cowardice.*

I Should much wonder how *Valour* and *Cowardice*, both ſtrangers, if not Contrary to the Practice of *undiſtracted Nature*, could paſs ſo long without the *Errata*, in the *Place-Book* of *virtue* and *vice*: But that I find it, *The Deſign* of *Policy*, to *advance*, or *abate* the Credit of all things found *Uſeful* or *Deſtructive* to her *own*, or the *General* utility: And, where ſhe can bring in the leaſt Colour for *it to paſſ*, what is neceſſary to Commerce, with the *grateful Approbation* of Religion; And to render the Contrary in the *Dark Senſe*, and *Black Characters* of *Hell*. Allowing all Supports as *Decent* and *quadrating* with the *Beauty* of Holineſs, though *Above* or *Againſt the Lights of Reaſon*, if found, any way requiſite, to ſuſtain *Government*. Of ſuch force is *Cuſtome*, that it is able, through the Aſſiſtance of *Credulity*, to *ſtifle*, and *trample* upon the *Senſes* themſelves.

Now, though it may be no *Indiſcretion* in a *Patient*, to ſuffer himſelf for his *Recovery*, to be deluded by his *Phyſitian*; yet out of a *Panique* Fear, or effeminate *Nicety*, to ſwallow more *Drugs*, and in greater *Quantities* than is unavoidably neceſſary, may appear a *Madneſs*, ariſing from the more *Dreadful*, than *Dangerous Phantaſms* muſtered up by the *Fumes* of a formerly-ſuborned *Melancholy*; rather than the *Subſtantial Dictates* of an *unſophiſticated Judgement*, which a *Wiſe man* may *retain*, *and feaſt himſelf with*, though for *Manners ſake*,

and to avoid the Danger, no leſs than Shame, impending *Singularity*, *he may ſeem* to own the moſt *univerſal Opinion*.

Now to ſhew, how *Policy*, no leſs than *Religion*, impoſeth upon frail *Humanity*, in both the fore-mentioned particulars (Though *to the apprehenſion of Senſe*, abſolutely *repugnant* one to the other) they are ſcituated as *near Damnation*, that appear *over-daring* in the proſecution of *private Revenge*; as ſuch who out of *Remiſſneſs*, and *Fear*, *betray the Cauſe of their Countrey*; in defence of which, is placed, under all *Profeſſions* extant, the *Higheſt ſtep of our Duty to God and our Neighbour*. Which cannot be denyed to ſtand *further remote in Nature*, than what really Concerns *Our ſelves*: found *recorded* in *Job*, by the *Devil*; a far *Antienter Philoſopher* than the *ſo much venerated Ariſtotle*. From whence we may Conclude, 'That *Re-*'*ſolution and Dread inſtituted by Nature at firſt*, '*for the Vindication and ſafety of every reſpe-*'*ctive Individual*, *are ſince Tyranny and Propri-*'*ety have forced us into Communalties*, *reduced* '*by Common Conſent of Law*, *and Conveniency* '*into a publick ſtock*, *for the Preſervation of All.* '*So as we are ſuffered*, *to own no more in re-*'*ference to our ſelves*, *than Prudence is able* '*to filch out of the Treaſury of the State*: and that upon no ſlighter a Penalty, than *Law* doth inflict: which found too dim-ſighted to penetrate further, than *External Evidence* can reach; *Religion*, whoſe *Reſults*, (and thoſe no weak ones,) lye in *Conſcience*, ſupplies the place of a *Diviner-Guard*; Brandiſhing like

the

the Angel in *Paradise*, the *flaming sword of Heil*: Which operates more or less, upon the *Affections*, proportional to the *Tincture*, received from *Education*. Not seldome *Proof* (as we find in *Hereticks*) against the *Dictates of Reason* her self; *Nothing being harder* to be *lost*, or *convinced* of *Falshood* than *Opinions* sucked in with the Nurses *Milk*. And this may raise an *Use* of *Caution*, in relation to what we call *Pusillanimity*, and *Valour*. Which in a *Natural* and primitive *sense*, signifie only *Evasion*. And where that will not serve in order to our own Preservation, a *vigorous and stout Resistance* to the *loss* of *Life* it self, as is manifest in every *Creature*, in the absence of hope; and therefore impossible to be found Wanting, in the pure and *unsuborned Nature of Man*. And so in the *primitive Construction* uncapable of any *Forreigner Interpretation*, than what is deduceable from our own *judgement*, without reference to *Fame*, or *Reward*. Terms *unintelligible*, during the *Original Felicity*: And before the *Thirst* after *Generation* had swelled the *World*, into such an *Ocean* of *Inhabitants*, as could not be kept within the Compass of *Moderation*, but by *Mounds* and *Bancks*; in the making of which all things are employed that own the power *to Terrifie* or *Flatter* the *Rabble* into *Obedience*, without bearing any *Nicer Respect*, to single *Individuals*, than through *Evadeing*, or *Over-ruling* the *Law*, *Power* or *Prudence* is able to purchase to themselves, by *Mastering*, *Flattering*, or *Contemning publick Fame*. After which, it may be sometimes

leſs policy to run, than not to be too greedy, to give it welcome when it courts us: *Opinion* being a Bird oftner catcht by *Chance*, than *Endeavour*. Nor ſhall any one that carries her on his *Fiſt*, ever want *envy*, or *ſcratching* by others. And he that hath but the Patience, to attend *good* or *bad report* to the end of the *race*, ſhall obſerve them like *Cocks* to change their *Odds*: one *unlucky Blow* being able to *depreſs* more, and draw a greater *concourſe* of *Abettors* to the *other ſide*, than *Twenty* as ſtrong and *probable Endeavours*, without *Succeſs* can poſſibly advance. Or, if this fail, the *Gameſters* together with what they ſtrove for, will by the hand of *Time* be laid in *Oblivion*. Whereas the real *Wounds*, and ſenſible *Inconveniencies* accruing from a too ſerious *Attention*, and exact obſervance of the various *Cadences* of the *Trumpet of Fame*, ſubject to be put out of *Tune*, by the change of every *Blaſt*, do not only exceed the *Cure* of the *Chyrurgeon*, but all endeavours to that of *Wiſdom* it ſelf. Nor hath *Policy* any cheaper *traſh* to load the oppoſite *Scale* withal, than *Honour* and *Titles*; which like *Horſe-Bells*, only affect the *Ear*, as *Diamonds* do the *Eyes*; increaſing, rather than leſſening the *Burthen* of *Life*: which, with its Concomitance *Envy*, *Danger*, and *Jealouſie* ſignifies nothing, *proportionable* at leaſt, to what the *Purchaſe* requires; Seldome enjoy'd of the *Owner* long, without *Controverſie*; unleſs by dying in *poſſeſſion* he cuts off all contrary *Claims*. Wherefore ſuch as have the *Dexterity*, to paſs their Dayes, at the leaſt Expence of *Trouble* and

Conveniency,

Convenience, may be truly said, to *husband Discretion* best. Nor are they likely to be *misled*, in such a *vast number of Fools* and *Madmen*, as are daily observ'd, to Sacrifice their own *Ease* and content to promote the *Ambition* and small *Plots* of Others: Grounding their Hopes upon those, that have no Assurance Themselves. But this runs so contrary to the grain of *Practice*, as it may not unpossibly, set such *Teeth* on *Edge*, as are able through *Detraction*, or *Power*, to blast the *Author* of this *Advice*.

A Letter writ to dissuade Mr. —— *from a* Duell.

Sir,

I Shall at this time conceal, what I apprehend of your *Quarrel*, and the *Circumstances* that did at first produce it: Left I should fall into a *Physitians indiscretion*, who coming to one labouring of a *Fever*, did consume the time, in telling the *Patient*, the *Causes* of his *Distemper* were *Drink* and *Evil Company*: which though possibly true, could not but carry the Figure of a *Meager Impertinency*, before the *party* had his *Cure*; since no place is now Left for *prevention*. And as *Physick* is opposed to the Defects incident to *bad Dyet*, and *Disorder*: So *Counsel* hath been observed, to *Moderate* and palliate, though not *Cure* those of *Indiscretion*; arising for the most part from an *Inexperience* in the *exact knowledge* of our *own fame*, no less than that of *others*: And *where it may be*, *or is scituated*, with the smallest prejudice

to *Conſcience*, or giving the leaſt interruption to the *Proſpect* of *Self-preſervation*, the *Firſt Reſult* in the *Intention* of *Nature*, and left as of *greateſt Intendment*, to the Care of *Prudence*. From whence I have been taught, that it is poſſible, for *Phyſick* to be *welcome*, though *Diſtaſteful*; but that *Counſel* ſeldom meets any more favourable Conſtruction than *Scorn*, from the *Receiver*, and an Opinion of *Preſumption in Him* that ventures *to give it*; eſpecially, if it meets not with a *candid Nature*: Which hopeing to find in *You*, I ſhall ſo much tranſgreſs the *voice* of *Diſcretion*, as to ſuffer my ſelf *in Love* to become an *Arbitrator*, between the *Honour* and *prudence* of a *Friend*, ſo far, as to maintain, *That ſuch* as *animate you* to a *Formal Revenge*, do out of *forgetfulneſs*, or *Want of Religion*, forbear to calculate the *Danger*, no leſs than *Impiety*, that *for ever* cleaves to ſuch *hands*, as are found *once polluted in Blood*: And, That thoſe violate the *Dictates* of *Piety* and *Diſcretion*, (by *Wiſdome* eſteemed the moſt conſiderable part of *Manhood*) that contradict it. For to uſe their own *canting*, (no where to be found in the *Dialect* of *Antiquity*) *He* hath *given* you an *Affront*; and ſuch an one, as may not *decently* be paſſed by, without a *Formal Satisfaction*; which is but the *ſingle* and *wild Opinion* of ſome *under-graduates* in the *Arts* of *Liveing*. Yet, admit it a *Debt*, due in the *Court* of *Honour*, may it not as well be diſcharged by your *friend* or *ſervant*, as *your ſelf*? Parties leſs agitated by *Intereſt* and *Paſſion*, and therefore the likelier, to deal a *Revenge* ſo evenly,

evenly, as he ſhall have as little cauſe to *bragg* as *you* to *repent*. A thing you can never promiſe *your ſelf*, if contrary to the *Injunctions* of *God* and the *Examples* of the moſt *prudent people* you proportion out your *Satisfaction* in the *Field*. Where you cannot but deliver into the Cuſtody of *Blind Fortune*, not only your *Life* but *Eſtate*: As juſtly belonging to *poſterity*, as ever your *Anceſtors* made it *yours*. Which by this *Mad Knight-Errantry* you hazard to *Undo*. I am ſure all *wiſe minds* will quadrate with this. And if the *Fools* of the *preſent Age*, pretend to any *Diſcoveries* of Wayes to Honour, New and Untrod, by the Antients, Let um follow them, to the furtheſt *Extent* of their *Lives* or *Lunacy*. Whilſt you hearken, to the *Graver Advice* of *reaſon*. Which may *inform you*, He hath offer'd an *Abuſe* already, and will you hazard upon *equal Terms* the receiving a *Greater*? Indeed if a *Requital* had been endeavoured at the *Inſtant* it might have rendred you more excuſable before *God* and *Man*: But that *opportunity* omitted; it were more *wrong* to your *Charity*, than *Vindication* of *Valour*, *in cold Blood* to call back *Revenge*: As if a worſe *Chriſtian* upon *Meditation*, than when irritated by *Fury* and *Paſſion*. Neither is *Honour* to be purchaſed, in *ſingle* and ſelf-perſwading Combates, becauſe no *Marks* of them appear in *Antiquity*; where many are found Dead, but not one, to my remembrance, upon ſo impertinent a Quarrel, as *Words*. Yet we may conclude from the foul *Expreſſions* in *Orators*, That the *Mouths* of the *Gentry* were then none of

the *Cleaneſt*. He that conſults former *Hiſtories*, may find, *That ſome* have gained more repute from a *Retreat*, than *others* could obtain by a *Won-field*. And what is a *Retreat*, I pray you, but a *fine word* for *Running away? Fiereeneſs* being proper to *Beaſts*, whereas a *neat Evaſion* belongs peculiarly to *Men*. Of which, I ſhall inſtance this, as now freſh in my *memory*. A *Gentleman* lying, like you, under the repute of an *Injury*, did meet his *Enemy*, and ſhot him with a *Piſtoll* ſtopped full of *Dung*, whereupon he cryed *He was ſlain*, which ſet him *further* back in the *Opinion* of the *world*, than his former *Vapouring* had *advanced him*, when the *Excrement* the *Dagge* was *loaden* with, appeared to the *Senſes* of the *ſtanders by*. And for this, the *Wit* of it's *Deviſer* was highly commended. Another return'd this *Anſwer*, with a like Succeſs, to a *younger Brothers Challenge*; That if he could prove his *loſs* as great as His, ſhould he *kill* or be *killed*, he would gladly accept it; Otherwiſe he did not think it *reaſon*, to venture his Life, againſt one did want *Neceſſaries*, and ſo might ſeek *Death*, no leſs out of *Diſcontent*, than *Gallantry*: which *himſelf*, that wanted nothing, had no cauſe to do. All that remains, is but your Pardon for this *Boldneſs*, which I moſt ſeriouſly Deſire. Remaining in the mean time, no leſs your *faithful friend*, Then,

Sir,

Your, &c.

A

A Letter to Mr.———in hope to diſſwade Him from going a Colonel *under* Count Mansfield.

Sir,

I Cannot but own it, for a high *Preſumption*, to offer *ſudden* and *crude Conceptions* in a *buſineſs* where I preſume, you have employed, not only your *own*, but the moſt *ſerious Advice* of *your friends*. To the *Abilities* and *Dignity* of whom, though I am forced to give place, I may not juſtly be accounted behind them in affection to your *ſelf*, or *affairs*. Wherefore having received ſo great an encouragement from your Commands, no leſs than a *Stimulation* from my particular Deſire to *ſerve* you, I ſhall according to my *ſmall Experience*, and the *meaner Abilities* I have found in me, to employ it to the *beſt Labour*, to inform you, *Theſe corrupt Times* have rendred many things *neceſſary* to the *German Wars*, are no wayes *ſuitable* to your *Complexion*, or *Fortune*, which your *General*, being a *Stranger*, cannot in probability *advance*, without *offending* his own, and *ſinning* againſt an *Article of Policy*, and *Nature*. Nor ſhall you, though loaden with the higheſt *Merit*, render your *Return* more grateful to your *Natural Prince*: *King James* having alwayes numbered *Souldiers* amongſt thoſe, he eſteems the *worſt of men*, and moſt *formidable* to *His Perſon*. The Expedition being by *Him* rather *Connived* at, than

then *Approved*, out of hope, by this means, to facilitate the two *Treaties* of a *Match* with *Spain*, and the *Reſtitution* of the *Pallatinate*: which obtained, (according to the *Mode* of *Puſillanimous Princes*) all endeavours will be uſed to diſcharge the State of *You* and *Your Companions*, as a *Society* moſt ſuperfluous *during Peace*; the only Thing *our King* doth ſtudy to promote: To whoſe *Ears* a *Drum* is more terrible than *Thunder*, and the *Report* of a *Cannon*, than the *voice of God himſelf*. Which, (if *our Church-men* may be credited) doth at this Day cry for *vengeance*, againſt the Cruelty, exerciſed upon *Chriſtians*; eſpecially from *England* by an *unanimous* Conſent choſen the Head of the *Proteſtant League*, till his *Majeſty* had forfeited that *Honour* to the *briſker Aſſiſtance* given by the *French*. Now, can you think he ſhould indulge *valour* as a *vertue* in *another*, when nothing is more manifeſt, than that he labours to expunge all *Marks*, or *Occaſions* for it in *himſelf*, or any about *Him* ſo far, as to *Anſwer* my *Lo*——— when he came from the *Wars*, and deſired to *kiſs* his *Hand*, That he feared he would *bite* it, and therefore bad he ſhould be *muffled*? Nor is it our *Kings mode* alone, (that never made uſe of *Souldiers* unleſs to ſlight them) But that of *Spain*, under whom the moſt deſerving have dyed in *Diſgrace*, if not by *Poyſon*. And amongſt the *Catalogue of thoſe* ſtand *written with great Characters* in the *Kalender* of *Fame*, few or *none*, are regiſtred for *Saints*, or *Happy*. It being paſt *Controverſie*, That, no *War* can be *called*

Juſt,

Juſt, bears not a *real Tincture* of *Defenſative*. And whoſoever hath, or ſhall have enterprized the contrary, though his *Name* be never ſo richly enamelled on the Ring of *Fortune*, and Himſelf placed at the *Top* of her *Wheel*, yet he is but the *Scourge* of *God*: and doth for the moſt part fall, when he thinks himſelf moſt capable of ſtanding. Like *Charls* the 5th, that was by the Duke of *Saxony*, (a Family of his own raiſing) beaten over the *Alps*, by *Torch-light*, and himſelf like the *Sword of Goliah*, wound up into a *High Contempt* of this *World*, and laid in a *Monaſtery*. The *Sins* and *Over-ſights* of *Gods Children* are ſeverely puniſhed. But it is as true, That nothing coſts dearer, than the *blood* of his *Saints*. As may appear by ſuch *Horſe-Leaches*, as have been applyed to his *Church*; from whence a double quantity hath been drawn, by ſome unexpected means. But if theſe Reaſons favour too much of *Theology*, Conſider how unpoſſible it is to do any thing, without the *Love* of the *Common Souldier*, *abroad*, and how *unſafe* He muſt needs be at *home* that enjoyes it; There being nothing more uſual with *Princes*, than to be jealous of their *Liberators*. Manifeſt in *Byron*; who, after he had ſet the Crown upon *Henry* the fourths head, loſt his *own*, out of a no more pious reaſon, than that upon a *contrary provocation*, he might have removed it to *another*. And to ſhew of what vile eſteem *Souldiers* are in the dayes of *Peace*; I will not ſay (though I have heard it) that the *Judges*, after the *Iriſh Wars*, were given it in *Charge*: yet can aſſure you, they hanged

hanged *Souldiers* for *faults*, which, *others* (thought of more uſe in Peace) did *ſcape*, or obtained *pardon* for. If ſo *unhappy*, as to receive a *wound* in your *perſon* or *credit*, it remains *yours*, without the leaſt *Diminution*. If *Honour*, Cuſtome ſhares it between your *Country*, and he that *commands* in *Chief*. Who, being a *forreigner*, is not unlikely to rob you of your due; or by imploying you on *deſperate* ſervice, to *conclude Fame and your Life together*. I know, your *Reſolution* is too well lined by *Philoſophy* againſt the ſtorms of *Danger*, to admit a Parley with any *force* but that of *Reaſon*: wherefore I forbear to *paint* them, leſt I ſhould ſeem to ſcare *you with fears*, are for many years left to be terrible to *my ſelf*. Who have long ſince thought it *Ridiculous*, to *Court Sleep* by *Opiums*, and *protract* Death by *Cordials*; which is but the *Head* of the ſame Species, being both the effect of an *unavoidable Laſſitude*. Yet though *Life* is impoſed upon Mortals *without*, if not *againſt* their *Conſent*, it cannot be denyed the ſtrongeſt *Reſult* of the Higheſt *Wiſdom*, to *ſituate your ſelf ſo*, as it may conſume *at the moſt eaſe*, and with the leaſt *Perturbation*; which is not to be expected from ſuch a *Flaring* and intemperate a Courſe, as that of a *Souldier*: that can make *choice* of no *Friend* or *Enemy*, but what the *State* aſſigns him; or proportion his *Pity* or *Juſtice*, to his own *Morality*, but their *Ambition* and *Jealouſie*, that command in Chief. To whom in all things you are bound to obey, though contrary to the grain of *Prudence* it ſelf. That *arbitrary Government*

vernment you so much complain of *at home*, being the best you can in *reason*, expect to find in an *Army abroad*; Where, the *Stress* of *Discipline* lies more upon the Administration of *Severity*, than *Justice*. Such as are reported to list themselves under the *Black Prince of Darkness*, draw Articles before they consign their blood; and have a Circle enchanted, with a *Power to protect them*: whereas a *Souldier* hath nothing to plead for, against *actual* obedience, but the narrow Circumference of *Protection*, that lies in the will of a *General*. To whom, the *Vertue* and *Valour* of his *Officers* is no less *formidable*, in relation to his *particular Jealousies*, than the *Vices* and *Cowardice* of his meaner *Souldiers*, are thought *pernicious to Success* in the Field. Wherefore no *Prince* deserves such *Honourable Attendance* as those, that Head their *Armies* themselves. *Generalissimo's* like *Stepfathers*, carrying no other *Natural affection*, but for the *Advancement* of their own *Glory*. So as they esteem, all *inferiour Merit*, as an *Intrusion* upon *Theirs*: It being ordinary with *Custome*, to award *Fame* to such as have least deserved it; and *asperse* with *Infamy*, those of more *Glorious* Merit. I confess *Necessity* cannot only abate the *Edge* of these *Reasons*; but turn their *Points* against the Urger. Yet, since it is not impossible, but that the *Elector* may have miscarried in his *Allegiance* towards the *Emperour*, *it cannot be indiscreet* or *impertinent* to mind you, of the *Hazard* and small *reward* they commonly are capable of, that render themselves

Arbitrators

Arbitrators of a *Forreign Difference*; I *do comply with you*, in all the *Pity*, *Prayers*, and *Contributions* can be offered for the Reſtitution of the *Vertuous Lady Elizabeth*: yet ſhall reſerve *my Perſon* to beſtow upon the *Preſervation* of my *Countrey*, in the quarrel of which, I can only juſtifie, the ſpilling of my *own blood*, or that of others. The univerſal imployment of a *Souldier*, *not being yet legally made out to me*, by any *Injunction* either *Moral*, or *Divine*. The Practice of the *Switzers* in relation to Forreign *Quarrels*, appearing as remote from *Chriſtian Charity*, as *Natural Prudence*. It cannot be denyed, but that *Souldiers* are neceſſary, during the Diſtracted times of *Invaſion*: So it is as true, That few *Callings* are looked upon with more *Diſdain*, when a *Nation* enjoyes an abſolute *Tranquillity*. Wherefore it can be no Act of *Diſcretion*, to inroll your *ſelf*, under a *Profeſſion*, only in eſteem, during the *worſer Ages*, and not the *beſt*. Wherein *mains* are conſidered rather as *marks* of an *inconſiderate* and brutiſh *Valour*, than a temperate and *adviſed Prudence*. Were You thrown upon it, by the *Iron Horns* of an unavoidable *Compulſion*, or flattered into it, out of a more than probable *Aſſurance* of an *Honourable Advantage*; Something might be objected to the Prayers of your *Friends*, and contrary Deſires of your *Enemies*: who may not unpoſſibly tempt you, into this *uncertain Hope*, out of a Deſign, to rob you of all you *really enjoy*.

Conſider your *Education*, how much a Stranger it hath been, to the *incommodious*

Treat-

Treatment the *Field* doth afford: Out of whose *Verge*, it is more decent and safe, still to preserve your self, than, at any time to retire, though upon the highest *Provocation*; of whose legitimacy, your Enemies from whom *you part*, will be the *Arbitrators*, and not your *Friends*, to whom *you return*. *War* being a *turbulent* and *destructive Calling*, with more *Credit* and *Safety* alwayes neglected, than at any time *forsaken*. He that never fought, receiving a fairer *Encomium* from *Charity*, than a *Captain* that hath deserted his *Poste*. Nor doth a *Colonel* stand for more, than a single *Wheel*, in the Frame of an *Army*, where the *General* remains *Heir* to all *Desert*.——The rest is lost.

A Letter to Mr. W. P.

THe continuance of your *Acquaintance* is the higheſt Pinnacle of my Ambition. And from whence I am not only tempted, but do willingly ſubmit to the loweſt of your *Commands*. In the purſuance of which, I came on purpoſe, to meet you at B——loaden with the ſtrongeſt *Advice*, ſo weak a judgement is able to man-out. But I find, Your own *Wiſdom* hath given me the *Opportunity*, to ſpare my *Engliſh*; By diſcovering to you, without the help of a Proſpective, or the dearer *prejudice* of a *Tryal*, what I found verified through many years *Experience*, *viz.* That *Honourable Perſons*, like *too great Fires*, may *warm* and *comfort* ſuch as are content only to *ſerve* them at a *Diſtance*: But *blaſt* the *Parts*, and *conſume* the *Fortunes* of thoſe are found to *attend* them in any *nearer relations*. Who gain, for the moſt part like the *Birds* that follow the *Croeodile*, no richer *Reward*, than the *Reverſions* of *their Teeth*. It being uſual with theſe *Monſters* in *Nature*, to eſteem none capable of *Deſert*, but ſuch, as *Fortune*, or *Baſeneſs* hath made neceſſary to their *Vices*, or *Power*. The *Firſt* of which, is as much below *the Breeding*, as the *other*, is the *Candour of a Gentleman*: To whom, it is *incongruous*, to *leave* the *Honour he* was born to, at the foot of that *Ladder*, he hopes to *aſcend* by, to a *greater*. Neither, have they that are *inſtrumental* to their *Rapine*, a more *noble* imployment, than *thoſe Beaſts*

Beasts reported of in the *Indies*: who hunt the prey for the *Lyons*, and after by his strength they are subdued, must rest *satisfied* with what the *Covetousness* of their *Master* shall leave undeavoured.

For my *self*, as none can with Affection, look upon the *Gulph*, hath swallowed up his *Felicity*: So I remain in so high a *feud* with *Greatness*, as if I did not find [*Lord*] in my *Daily Prayers*, I should not *name* it (in relation to *Servant*) without *Detestation*. The *which Lord*, had I served as I ought, the *other* would have been no more known to me, than *Leopards*, *Wolves*, and *Tygers*, seldome, if ever, seen by us, but in *Grates* and *Pictures*. Yet how manifest soever this *Truth* is, I am not so *foolish* my self, or think others so *wise*, as to esteem any *Precept*, or *Example* strong enough to restrain the *unsupported Ignorance* of *young men* from falling into this *Trap*; baited with more *Ease*, though far less *Assurance*, than *Law*, *Physick*, *&c.* For *this course* often neglected, in which *Hundreds* perish for *one* that *thrives*; who is yet found to be more *imperious* than the *Master* himself. Since the powerful *Word of God* assisted by the Rhetorick of *Divines*, is not of Efficacy sufficient to keep them from following *Pride*, *Lust* and *Drunkenness*, though *Hell* be affrighted for the *Conclusion*. But, if you desire a more full, and elegant prosecution of this *Theam*, I refer you to *Lucian*: Having already exceeded my first intention, which was only to *Kiss your Hands*, and in fewer words, to assure you that I am,

Sir, *Your Servant*.

Another to the Same.

Sir,

HAd you not aſſur'd me you were not *well*, I ſhould eaſily have gueſſed it my ſelf, from the *Commendation your* Letter gave to *mine*.

Which cannot but be rather the effect of a *Fever*, than your *Judgement*. To which, though I am ſo highly obliged for the preſent, as to gain a more honourable eſteem in your *Fancy*, than, without the like *Mediation*, I could poſſibly have attained: Yet I do not only abhor this, but all *Advantages elſe*, that own the leaſt ſemblance of a *Prejudice* to you. So as I could not have been thus *Romantique*, but that the *laſt Line*, prov'd a *Cordial* to the *Firſt*; By expunging all fear of *Future Danger*, in reſpect of your *Health*. And for *Prudence*, I find it by the Elegancy of your *Style*, and the *ſolidity of Matter*, ſo far rather increaſed, than diminiſhed, as I am confident your opinion is, by this time, alter'd in reference to my *Deſert:* though I am willing to flatter my ſelf, That your *Love* continues. But whether the *Horſe* follows the *Chariot*, or the *Chariot* the *Horſe*, Perſons of *Parts* are found to make ſo great a *Deſcent*, which ſubmit themſelves to this *Courſe of Servitude*, That they waken the *Admiration of Lookers-on*, much more, than the *Apprehenſions* of thoſe, that like me, have ſo apparently ſuffered in their particular Intereſts:

It

It being impoſſible to imagine a greater *Lunacy*, than to caſt away *Time*, *Freedom*, and *Fortune after ſuch*, as ſo little regard it, that they eſteem it *Reward* ſufficient for the moſt of their *Servants*, if they have an *opportunity* to obſerve the *Baſeneſs* of their *Natures*. For what is gotten by them, belongs rather to their own *Impudence*, or *Importunity*; than the *Bounty*, or *Goodneſs* of their *Maſters*: Since he that remains Defective, in one of theſe *Two Court-Vertues*, ſhall be compell'd to make a *Third* of *pure Neceſſity*. Let a man conſume a *Prentiſhip* with a *Citizen*: At the end of the *Time*, it is his own Fault, if he be not able to *Live*. But when a *Trades-man* (like one of his Majeſties *Antique Statues*) is taken out of a baſe *Cellar* or *Vault*, (no Prodigy in our dayes) and ſet up at *Court*; It is his leaſt care to provide for his *Servants*, unleſs neceſſary to his *Vices*, or the *Infirmities* that proceed from them. Such being able to *Ride* him *where* they pleaſe; either over their *Fellows*, or *Strangers*, by way of *Terror*, or *Diſdain*: Or *Curvet*, and *prance* with his *Complements*, in token of *Reſpect*. They reſembling for the moſt part, *Oranges*, that yield, nothing but upon ſqueezing. I confeſs, the Dependance on a *Monſter* of this kind, may be of excellent uſe for *Protection*, in theſe *Fatal Times*, where *Innocency* is found too weak for *Deceit*: Could it be obtain'd without a greater Loſs. But as in a *Contract* with the *Devil*, the Firſt thing parted with, is Hope of *future Felicity*: So a *Secretary* muſt quit his *Freedome*, or *Imployment*; being tyed to

ſo ſtrict an *Attendance*, as his *Lord* is no more able to ſpare him, than his own *Brains*, or *Thumbs*. By which, the *ſlavery* becomes ſo great, as it can receive no *Compenſation* from *Profit*. Wherefore ſuch as are *wiſeſt*, retain only the *Acquaintance* of *Great men*: whom I have obſerved to thrive better than their *Menial Servants*. It being uſual with them, to beſtow benefits on thoſe that leaſt deſerve. And to him, they have *injured* by denying a *juſt Reward*, it is their *mode*, to become an *Enemy*. As I have found moſt certainly true, who am,

Sir,

Your Servant.

POSTSCRIPT.

I Have ſent you *this* to ſerve as a *Black-patch* or *Foyle*; to ſet out the *Beauty of your Virgil*. And therein you may obſerve the ſtrength of *Affection*: which for your ſake is able to raiſe in me the *Enthuſiaſms* of a Poet; from whoſe *Inſpiration*, this *Oracle* is pronounced.

This

THis Work is finiſh'd ſo, as no Supply
Can be expected from Poſterity.
Nor could thy Author's Laurel *match thy Bayes,*
Hadſt thou appear'd with him, in Cæſar's *dayes.*
Yet, he that this Tranſlation *dares to ſlight,*
Muſt not admire to ſee a Moor *waſh'd white,*
And chang'd to Engliſh-Beauty: *loſing none*
Of what was Hers; *But adding of* his own.

If that our Northern Paint *be not ſo good,*
'Tis not thy Fault: *whoſe* Pencil *underſtood*
No leſs than any Roman's. *And this ſhall*
Struggle for Fame *with the* Original:
And waſte more Blood, *&* Inck, *than in the ſtrife*
Between thoſe States who firſt gave Homer *Life,*
Which will be Juſtice. *For* he *did undo*
By writing them, what Wit *entayl'd* thee to.
Like to an Elder-Brother that is Curſt
In all things elſe: yet priz'd *for* coming Firſt.

But to Conclude the wiſhes of my Heart,
Oh that my Praiſe *could equal thy* Deſert.

A Letter perſwading———to marry.

THough your Contexture makes me confident, you will not hazard the Dancing *Curanto*'s with *Apes* in *Hell*: yet it is none of the leaſt Modern Miracles, why you ſtay ſo long unmarried. As if you had an Antidote to repell *Age*, and were proof againſt the *Weapons* of *Time*; or had a *Receipt* to recover his *Locks* worn off, by ſuch, as neglect to lay hold on the preſent *Occaſion*: which you would never do, had you ſeriouſly conſider'd the preſent Condition of your *Mother*; (whoſe youth is ſaid, ſo blaſphemous is Tradition, rather to have exceeded, than come ſhort of your preſent *Beauty*:) How a few years hath changed *Alabaſter* into *Wainſcot*, and ruffled her *Neck* like a walking *Bunkin*: So that ſuch, as would once have croſſed Seas, but for an *apparition* of her, cannot but now think it *Ominous*, to meet her *Faſting*. If you reſolve upon none, till you pattern the *Character* your Fancy preſented me, (when I had laſt the Honour to kiſs your *hands*, and heard the Scorn wherewith you received the Offer of———I muſt be bold to tell you, I took it rather as a *Copy* of your *Countenance*, than any thought could take its *Original* from the *Diſcretion* I ever own'd you *Lady* of) you may as well expect a *New Creation*. Since, ſo much perfection, as your Language did then paint, is not to be found out of a *Romance*; or the ſhort Entertainment,

ment, during a *Lovers Paſſion*; which once, throughly cured, by *Fruition*, is not found rarely to *recoyle* into as great a Contrary Extream. I confeſs, *Wiſe*, *Conſtant* and *Compleat Servants* may be had; but few ſuch *Husbands*, whoſe minds are no leſs altered by *Marriage*, than *Drunken Men* are by *Sleep*; but become like them, *weary* and *ſick*, of what they formerly took delight in; upon the *Apprehenſion*, That he which *yokes* himſelf to a *Woman*, forfeits *his Prudence*, no leſs, than *ſhe* doth hazard *her* Repute, who incircles a *Man* in her Arms before Enchanted by the *Prieſt*, through *Cuſtome* and *Shame* made far more neceſſary to you, than *Men*. Wherefore finding that *Time* is unceſſantly nibling at youth, and *Beauty* the *bait* of your *Trap*: And that it is unlikely with no ſtronger *Engines*, to catch one that is *Wiſe*: Be nimble, and lay hold on *this* that is *Rich*. Who is confeſs'd none of the *ſeven wiſe Maſters*, and therefore with more *Eaſe* to be *governed*. The *felicities* of *Marriage*, periſhing in the *Conflict* ariſing between *Man and Wife*, of equal *Spirits* and underſtanding. It being impoſſible there ſhould want Conteſts, where both lay claim to a *Capacity* fit only to be obeyed. Which, if you have him, will by all, be conceded on your ſide. So that, inſtead of being a *Ward*, (a Tenure every *Married Woman* holds from the *Award* of her *Maker*) you ſhall be *Guardian* of the *Perſon* and *Eſtate* of your *Husband*. Now, in relation to other things, upon the *ſcore* of which you may reckon *ſtronger felicities*; They

will be found, after enjoyment, to vaniſh into *Cyphers*. *Learning* becoming as unſociable for *Ladies*, as *half-witted men* are *wilful* and *jealous*; Rocks that the ſoftneſs of his *Head* gives ſufficient *caution* for, ſo that, under this Conjunction, you may, without interruption, follow what *Inclinations* you pleaſe. Wherefore, if you reſolve to *marry*, no *Husband* is more proper; whoſe *folly* you may exchange for *Wiſdom*, when you pleaſe. And to renounce it quite, were, beſides burying your *Talent* in the Ground, and robbing of the *world*, which you ought to leave as *Rich* as you found it: You *ſhould* fall into the *condition* of *an old Maid*, than which nothing is more *Deſpicable*: who is acceptable in no *company*. Not daring to come amongſt *Women*, for fear of declaring more Knowledge than ſhe can, with reference to *Honeſty own*: Or approach men out of the danger of Contempt. The Moral of *Andromeda*, is a *Hiſtory* of your *preſent* Condition. Where, the *Barren Rock* ſhe was tyde to, is *Virginity*. The *Monſter* that came to devour her *Time*. And he reported to *deliver* her, ſome *witty-ſpark*, that perſwaded her, to take a *Rich*——*&c.* to her *Husband*, might warrant the Acceſs of one more *acceptable*. Oh, let him have this *Honour Fair Lady*, who is

Madam,

Your Servant.

On

On a Looking-Glass.

DEar Glass, *tell me, by what Art,*
Thou bear'st her Image *without* breaking?
When the same do's crack *my* Heart,
Just as I am now a speaking.

On another which she said did *Flatter.*

BLame *not your* Glass, *that doth her* Duty,
Nor can it Flatter *so much* Beauty.
But for the rest, in Policy,
It shews them Fairer *than they be.*
Since if they saw their Faces true,
This, would be broke; *and* envy'd *you.*

Another.

DEar Glass, *joyn with her* Eyes; *and both concurr*
To Note *more worth* in me, *and less* in Her.

A Song.

THe Graces *are, by* Custome, *bound*
Once in an Age, All to be found
In One Creature: *There to shew*
All the Beauties *they do owe,*
And now having fix'd on Thee
Be not Proud: *Since, you may see,*
Time allows them not to stay,
But to meet, and go away.

Yet

Yet though whil'ſt theſe Gueſts *be here,*
You do rate their Lodging *dear:*
If you ſuffer me to take *it,*
I'le not break, *when they* forſake *it,*
The terms, of Fair *and* Good, *do not expreſs*
Thy Worth, *no more, than theirs, call* Princes fine,
When deck'd in Diamonds, *like the Stars they ſhine:*
Nay, I'le maintain Their folly to be leſs;
Since ſuch a Sight hath oft before been ſeen:
Whil'ſt he that would inform a ſhape like thine,
Prometheus-*like muſt ſtich from things* Divine.

On a Picture.

THough this be drawn exactly forth,
It doth no more retain her Worth,
Than the Shadow *of a* Roſe
Can the Scene *of one that* grows.

Another.

BEtween this, *and her* Mind, *there is that odds,*
As is in Mans *frail-workmanſhip and* Gods.

A Letter to two Sisters, the one Black *the other* Fair.

Ladies,

IT is Design, and, I hope, no Presumption in me, to joyn you in one: That, besides the opportunity of presenting the highest of my Respects, I might comprize in a single Letter, the total Summ of all the perfection extant in Woman-kind. *Black* and *White*, being the unquestioned *Original*, of that infinite Variety of *Beauty*, (the *mint* of *Nature*) through which is maintained her Necessary Commerce of Generation. And, in this equal *Distribution*, *Fortune* hath shewn no small *Ingenuity*, (who is more *Wanton*, and *Inexorable*, than *Blind* or *Careless*) in assigning, that of least *Duration*, the Fewest Years. For if you did not *Wither* alike, *Art* and *Opinion* (the *Limmers* and *Carvers* of all *Excellency*,) would have tempted, if not constrained every one, to serve, and adore that *Sister* only, whose beauty had survived. By which, sweet Variety had been lost; and Perfection reduced into one *Monarchy*, which, now, martch in your Two glorious *Regiments*. To both which, I remain an Equal Captive. Being,

Ladies, &c.

Beauty

Beauty is writ in ſeveral Characters;
None but are skil'd in ſome: who finds *out* All?
Which votes them mad, *do ſay, that this man errs*
Becauſe his choice is Black, or *Low, or* Tall;
Nature would have all pleas'd: And ſuch as fall
On Ordinary Features, *are leſs learn'd:*
The Indian *Beauties are as plain diſcern'd*
By thoſe do know their Figure, as the White.
Nor can Expreſſion render it ſo tight,

As may force others to approve the Text.
Reaſon with Talle, *&* Love, *ſhould not be* vext.

A Letter to———After the Death of his Lady.

Sir,

I Know, I need not mind you, That all Sublunary things are Tranſitory: Dancing like the Atomes (the antient Philoſophers imagined the *World* not only to be made of, but ſtuffed withal) between one Condition, and another. Life ſeeming to be lent, to keep Death in employment. And Generation, to ſerve only for the production of Bodies; that the *Fatal Siſters* might not weave in vain, or want Creatures to vail with their *Garments* of *Mortality*. But it is time to give over, at leaſt, to turn down a *Leaf*; and refer the Inculcation of this *Morality*, till ſome fitter time; For fear of falling into their Indiſcretion, are found to wake a ſick Friend, by an Impertinent *Inquiſition* after his Condition, or the unſeaſonable Adminiſtration of a Direction which way to diſpoſe of his Body. Since none can Calculate his *Eaſe* better, than the *Patient*: "*Sorrow it ſelf not being deſtitute of its Voluptu-*"*ouſneſs*. Which, hoping you will not, too far exceed: Give me leave to Conclude, That *Manners* exacted this; and *Diſcretion* no more but to aſſure you,

I am, &c.

An

An EPITAPH.

STone, *ſo long as thou doſt laſt,*
Let the Reader know thou haſt
The Droſs of Her, once own'd a Mind
Contain'd the worth of Woman-kind.
But no more: Who ſpeaks her Glory,
Muſt have for every Duſt *a* Story.

The Authors EPITAPH upon Himſelf.

I *Envy not ſuch* Graves *as take up room,*
Meerly with Jet *and* Porphyry; *ſince a Tomb*
Adds no Deſert: Wiſdom, *thou* thing divine!
Convert my humble Soul *into thy* Shrine.

And then this Body *though it want a* Stone,
Shall dignifie all places *where 'tis thrown.*

A Letter to diſſwade ——— *from* Marrying *a* Rich, *but* ugly *and* deformed, *&c*

WHen I heard at firſt, you went a *Wooing* to——I thought it a *Trick* put upon you by *Enemies*; but finding it *ſeconded*, and ſeeing the fearful Examples of *Thoſe*, who out of *Diſcontent*, and a *Deſire* to *Change* their preſent *Condition*, are found to *caſt away themſelves*: I begin to take your *Danger* to Heart. And do here, in the *Sincerity* of *Affection*, offer my Hand, to ſtay the *Tying* of that *Knot*, with which you go-about to *ſtrangle* your future *Felicity*. For, though I confeſs the *Party* may not unpoſſibly be very *Rich*, yet it is as likely, *The things* required to *Dead* the Apprehenſion of ſuch a *lothſome companion*, will prove *ſo chargeable*, as in a *ſhort* time, *Her Gold* will be ſpent, and *nothing* left, but *the Foul Beaſt* that brought it.

Yet ſuppoſe you find ſo much, as may bear the *Expence* of *Mad Company*, *Whores* and *Drink*, (*Wicked Cordials*, though *generally uſed*, to *correct* ſuch *Poyſon*) Can you *Diveſt Humanity* ſo far, as to make *Her Partner* in a *Bed*, is able to render you *ſo much* an *Enemy* to *Womankind*, as to exchange it for *Sodomy*? if not *Beſtiality* it ſelf? For though you may not be puniſhed by *Law*, the *Act* will be ſeverely condemned, and eſteemed *Brutiſh*, by all the *Rational part of the world*; It not lying in the *Gender*

or

or *Kind*, but *Form*, to render a *Creature Monſtrous* and *Abominable* to the Nature of *Commerce*.——I am ſo *Charitable*, (yet in confidence of *Others Vertue*, rather than *Her own*) as to believe *She* is a *Virgin*, in reference to *Man*: Who in that *Action*, might with more *Juſtice*, be puniſhed for a *Deflowerer* of *Himſelf*, than *Her*. Wherefore you will have no more reaſon to *Brag* of this *Priviledge*, than *He*, that *Firſt Deſcended* into *Hell*. Of whoſe *Superlative Uglineſs* (though her Body be ſo compoſed, as the *Devil* need not alter the *Beſt* of her *Features*, to make her reſemble the *foulest* of his *Fiends*; yet) it may be Numbered amongſt the *Queſtions*, leaſt capable of *Deciſion*: Whether, *That*, or *Her Mind*, be moſt *Crooked*? And to cover this, (yet none of the *worſt* of her Imperfections,) She is ſupported, like *Tyranny*, by *Steel*. From whence, her *Breath* is become ſo *Noyſome*, as no *Venomous* thing can live, in her *Preſence*: Nor any *Perſon* ſick of the *Mother*, miſcarry. Now what *Effects* her *Embraces* will work upon your *ſelf*, may be gueſs'd by *Grooms*:——who in a ſmall time, come to *out-ſtink the very Beaſts* they are *converſant* with——And what is ſaid, is ſo far from *Hyperbolical*, as it reſembles *Truth* more than *ſhe* does a *Woman*. Yet all this, is but a *ſlender Security*, to warrant *Poſterity* upon, ſhould ſuch a *Monſter* confute *Philoſophy*, in producing her *Like*. For,

If *Money* be ſo prevalent, as to make you ſell your *Liberty*, why may it not *Hire* another, to become ſo much a *Slave*, as to do *your Drudgery*?

Drudgery? Who, cannot be, upon ſerious thoughts, thus *Singular*; as, to preferr, *The abſolute Poſſeſſion* of a *Dung-Boat*, before *The having a Partner* in a *Tall Ship*. But if ſo *fond* of *Wealth*, as to break through theſe Conſiderations: Teach Her to Cover her *Face*, and not *Salute* your *Friends*. Or, if ſhe muſt be *Kiſs'd*, (The Strongeſt Complement was ever uſed) Let her Diſrobe Her——not poſſible to be more *Noyſome*, than her *Mouth*. If *Proſe* be not *Tart* enough, to *wean* you, from ſo *Childiſh* a Reſolution; For the Fear of *Poetry* deſiſt: which may make you the Subject of a *Comedy*. And *Gueſs* by theſe *Verſes* of a *Friend*, what *Enemies* may ſay.

CAn you but think, the antient Blindneſs Great,
When Men made Gods, *of that which we make* Meat?
Or wonder thoſe by Nile, *could offer* Fat
And goodly Oxen, *to an ugly* Cat?
Yet you (no leſs adviſed) *to a* Witch
Will ſell your Fate, *in hope for to be* Rich.
Who like the Idols, *in a* Pagan *Feaſt*,
Carries a Monkeys Face, *upon her* Breaſt,
Shadow'd with Shoulders: *under which, doth ſtay*
A Bonnet crouching, *like a* Hill at Sea.
Nor may her Boſome *fail of a* Device,
To hatch an Egg *into a* Cockatrice.
Or turn Men Atheiſts, *who believe no* Elves
Can now be found, but what we make our ſelves:
Were She in India, *where they ſerve the* Devil,
Not out of Hope *of* Good, *but* Fear of Evil,

They would adore Her: *Left her* Sun-like Nose
Should Burn, *and* Smoke Tobacco, *as it grows.*
Or, left the Venome of her lotheſome Breath,
Might blow ſome foul Contagion *o're the Earth.*
Or, That the Spaniards, *by her malice taught,*
Might learn more Cruelty, *than ere they thought.*
Yet amongſt all the People, worſt miſled,
None ever took a Fiend into his Bed.
Which proves, that Nature *doth abhor your Deed*
In offering to a Dæmon, Humane Seed.
And what will be your Iſſue, joyn'd with Her,
None can reſolve you, but a Conjurer.
For while She is in Labour, *You may hear*
The Good-Wives *ſkreak: and ſome* Phyſitian *ſwear*
It is a Child. *And that he finds in* writ,
Such Births; *Before the* Prieſt *dares* Chriſten *it.*

Now if this *cannot* Move *you, May your* Task,
Be to beget a Compleat Anti-Mask.

A

A Letter in Reference to a Coy Lady.

THough I confeſs, The *Lady* you recommended, may prove a *Pleaſure* to *Others*, are at *Leiſure* wholly to intend *Making Love*: (No *Hare* being better provided of *Muces* and *Shifts* to put off *Followers*, than *She*;) yet, ſo *Dull* a *Soul* as *mine*, in the *Apprehenſion* of the *Difference*, between *One Individual beauty*, and *another*, is ſtill *ready*, with the *Mayor of London*, to loſe all the *Pleaſure* of *Hunting*, in the *inſignificant* (though perhaps to *others Ears*, pleaſant) Cry of the *Hounds*. Catching of *Larks* and *Sparrows* leſs chargeable and troubleſome, being more *acceptable* and *grateful* to ſome *Complexions*, than *Hawking* at the *Heron*. The latter being too full of *Splendour*, *Noiſe*, *Delayes*, and impertinent *Complements* for a *Perſon*, that *like me*, is not born with the *Patience*, to run after a *flying beauty*; Or ſpend time in *beating* for that, another will *find to my hand*, for a *ſmaller ſumm*, than may compence, the tearing my Repute, or burthening my *Conſcience* with *Vain* and *Fallacious Oathes* and *Covenants*. In the Adminiſtration of which, *She* is as *Punctual*, as the *Calydonian Commiſſioners*.

Yet I cannot deny, but that She is richly *worth* the *Purchaſe*, of any that own the Knack of ſuch *Amorous Zealots*, as have *The Pa-*

tience, to continue ſtill *whining*, where they know, through the *Conſciouſneſs* of their own *Unworthineſs*, That they are not *likely* to be *Heard*. Making a *ſincere* profeſſion of *Love* and *Reſpect*, when their chiefeſt *Intent* is only to *plunder*, What I fear, *This Lady*, is to *ſeek* of, already; or elſe fouly bely'd. None keeping their *Avenues* more *ſtrictly barred*, than *ſuch* as have been *Robb'd* already *in this kind*. Wherefore having caſt up *by my ſelf* the whole *Value* of the *Adventure*; I find it no more than I can truck for, nearer home, and with greater *Eaſe*, and *Conveniency* to *my ſelf*.

Yet, before I break out into an *Open Rebellion* againſt ſo *Soveraign* and *Abſolute a beauty*, I will *Preſent* her with *This incloſed Petition*. To which, if ſhe gives not a *ſatisfactory* and *full Anſwer*, I am reſolved to break off all further *Addreſs*. And to proclaim Her a *Tyrant*. And her *Subjects abſolved* from their *Oaths* and *Obedience*. So, as for the *Future* it may be *lawful* for them, to inroll *Themſelves* under the *Red* and *White Colours* of any other *Miſtreſs* they eſteem more *Debonaire*.

The

The Petition.

I *Pray* Diſpatch *my Suit, or elſe* Deny *it*;
For if I ſpend more Time, *I dearly* Buy *it.*
If you diſtruſt my Truth, *I do proteſt,*
By that which binds Men *moſt, I* Love *you beſt.*
——*It is not out of* Fear, *That I ſhould* Tell.
You never heard me Brag, *when I did well.*
Or is't t'engage Me more, that you delay it?
None better knows the Grant, *nor how to pay it.*
Is it the Sin *you fear, which none can* Gueſs?
Cutting off Oaths, *and* Time, *you make it* Leſs.
Nay 'tis no Fault *in you, to leſſen* Mine.
Better once Drunk, *than ſtill* to thirſt *for Wine.*
——*Hath* Nature *made a* Blot *below your* Zone?
My Love *would cover it, and count it* None.
Have you a Servant, *that you think, is true?*
I have a Miſtreſs *too: And yet,* Love you.

If you can add to theſe Objections *more,*
Pay Me for what is paſt, and I'le give o're.

A Character on a Deboſhed Souldier.

HE carries no Sign of *Reputation* but in his *Mouth*; and that he ſuffers to run over, with tedious *Stories* of his own *Valour*: to juſtifie, which he hath wiſhed his *Damnation* ſo often, as it is now *ſure*; rendring him uncapable of any other *Peace of Conſcience*, but what he finds in *Drink*, or the operation of no *Diviner Spirit*, than that incites to *Luſt* and *Revenge*; his *Religion* being ſo far of his *own making*, as he imagines *God*, like his old *Hoſt*, beſt pleaſed, by the *Largeſt Reckonings*. With his *Tongue* he deſires *Wars*, but is in *Heart* at *peace* with *All*, but his *Maker*. He had rather be thought *behind-hand* for *Money*, than *Word*: and will ſooner ſatisfie an *Enemy*, than a *Friend*, being readier to requite, what he receives in *Anger*, than *Love*; *Injuries*, than *Good Turns*. Rendring himſelf a *Slave* to *Martial and arbitrary Juſtice* for a ſmall *Salary*, under the improbable pretence of *Freeing others*. Nor dares this *Gladiator*, that rants ſo high in *Taverns*, and on the *Ale-bench*, oppoſe any thing but *Patience*, to the higheſt *Affront*, a ſuperiour *Officer* is pleaſed to put upon

on him. Though no *Papist*, he abhors the *Church*. And like some of our *Reformists*, carries no more *marks* of a *Protestant*, than what is legible in *Perjury*, &c. yet brags more of his *Whoring and Drinking*, than any *Catholick* doth of his *Good Works*. Who is thus far *Happy*, that though he wants *Faith* to make him a *True Saint*, he owns not so much *Hypocrisie*, as to *appear so*. And therefore more capable of *Repentance*, than those that *Plunder* and *murder* others, under a secret *pretence*, of honouring that God, *he openly prophanes*. He brags much of his *Scars*, which truly examined, prove rather the Effects of *Intemperance*, than *marks* of *Valour*: his *face* bearing the *hideous Impress* of *Pots* and *Glasses*, received not in the *Fields* of *Mars*, but the easier-entred *Sconces* of *Bacchus*. Whose *Discourse*, though it travell'd still betwixt one *besieged place*, or *Leaguer*, to another, yet it was alwayes *Tedious*. And if you altered the Subject, *his understanding* appeared *proof* against *all Sense*. After whom followed this *Epitaph*.

At the Saracens *Head* Tom *pour'd in Ale and Wine,*
Until his Face *did represent the* Sign.

To Dr. Ch. *Chaplain to* W. E. *of* Pem.

SIR,

WHileſt it pleaſed you to Communicate with me, in a *Stile* ſuitable to the *frailty* of my *underſtanding*, I took infinite content in the *Converſe*; but ſince you have cloathed your *Letters* in the *Thundering* and *Glorious Ornaments* of Learning, I am not able to cope with you: Wherefore let me implore your favour ſo far as to lay theſe advantages by, and not render your *love terrible* to me, who did never queſtion your *Power*, but own you in the *higheſt ſublimity* the world hath (being prompted by ſo much *deſert*) advanced you to. And on ſuch terms I may enjoy your *Aequaintance*, whereas other wayes I ſhall be forced to *take Sanctuary* in a perpetual *ſilence*. Leſt I ſhould loſe that little Reaſon I have, in ſeeking to comprehend the infiniteneſs of yours. And to avoid any miſ-information of the Quarrel at ——— between my Lo ——— and the E. of C. ——— It was really thus. The K —— having though againſt his

his will, prevailed with my L. to go into the Weſt, by reaſon of his intereſt in thoſe parts, with the other Counſellors of State, in hope to facilitate the payment of the five Subſidies voted, but not given by *Parl.* & now Chriſtened a *Royal Lone*; the Commiſſioners being by the fire, A diſpute aroſe between the two former Lords, whether it was poſſible for one had never been upon the place, to ſpeak and underſtand *French* perfectly. The L——of——— who you know never ſet foot out of *England*, maintained the Affirmative with ſo much eagerneſs, that the other who had not only more Reaſon on his ſide, but the approbation of the Company, ſaid my L.———beſt Argument was *noiſe*; a ſpeech my L. replyed was undecent for an *Ea. of Complements*. And upon this, the other returned the *lye*. To which my L.—— made ſuch a Manual Anſwer, as the L. *C.* being penned up in his clothes, fell down, whereupon they were parted, and reconciled; *ſhame*, and the title of his Majeſt. graveſt *Privy Councellors* facilitating the Compoſition. It is already arrived at the *Spaniſh Embaſſadors*, who according to his facetious mode, put it upon the ſcore of our Engliſh Valour; which the Graveſt relations cannot make them to forget. I am ſtill haunted for Verſes from our *French-Coriot*, who is reſolved to print his Book in Engliſh: Thoſe I made are theſe.

What

What dost thou mean my friend, in this bad time,
To write of Vertue, *when 'tis thought a* Crime
Not to be Vitious? *such a* Book *would* sell,
Could prove all Damn'd, *did offer to* do well:
Or find that Pimping *is a* lawful Trade,
Because that Sarah *brought her* Lord *a* Maid;
Or vindicate what Origen *hath cast*,
That Court *and* Hell *shall meet in* Heaven *at* last;
Or prove that Incest *is a* Venial Sin,
Because that Lot *defil'd his* neareſt Kin.
O could'ſt thou maintain this, then thou ſhould'ſt be
Rais'd to high place for thy Divinity.

Then loſe no time, let Goodneſs *take her chance,*
Whil'ſt you comply with Sin *and* Ignorance.

On

On a COOK.

A *Cook* is a *Baud* to the *Mouth*. That *kills* his own *Stomach*, to quicken his *Maſter's*. Who lives like a *Bear* by *licking* his *Fingers*. Before a *Feaſt*, he in his *white Sleeves* and *Apron* reſembles the *Ephod* of a *Prieſt*; and ſeems to be preparing rather a *Sacrifice*, than a *Supper*. In which, the *Grand-Sallat* may juſtly be thought to perſonate an *Idol*. His Office is a repreſentation of *Hell*: where all ſorts of *Creatures* are *tormented* in *Flames*, to ſatisfie the depraved and Various Nature of the Taſtes of men. Whoſe Pleaſures, and higheſt Contentments, are no other wayes to be compleated, but at the prejudice of their *Fellow-Animals*: Over which, *Reaſon*, not *Strength*, hath purchaſed them the Soveraignty, ſo much abuſed in *this* world, as may render the worſt of puniſhments, juſt, in *the next*. His profeſſion ſomething quadrates with *Heraldry*: Varying no leſs in *Sawces*, than they do in *Colours*, *Bends*, *Feſſes* and *Metals*; and are as much puzled about

marſhalling

marſhalling the *Diſhes*, and calculating the *precedency*, at the Table of a *Wood-Cock*, or *Wigeon*; a *Gull*, or *Goſling*, as the other are, in placing *Lords* and *Ladies*. But this, and all the reſt of his Learning and Induſtry, concludes as I do, in an *Excrement*: which I wiſh in his——*&c.* And ſo, leave him to *Blaſpheme* in the *Kitchin*: or *Cooling* his *Tongue* in the *Cellar*.

A Character of an Hoſt.

AN *Hoſt* is one who *Thrives* with *Drinking*, and grows *Rich* by *Entertainments*. He is of *vaſt acquaintance*, but can number *few Friends*: beſides Thoſe reſulting from *Travail*, or *Neceſſity*. His *Converſation* is alike to *All men*, that he may gain the more *Money*. Being, equally *Hoſpitable* to every *Religion* he can *ſave* by. Giving his *Gueſt* the beſt Content *o're Nighe*, out of hope to pleaſe himſelf *in the morning*. The *Government* of his houſe is *Tyrannical*, all *Taxes* being *Arbitrary*, at the will of his *Wife*, who ſits *Regent* in the *Kitchin*. Yet every one that enters, takes his *Chamber*, for the time he ſtayes, as *his own*, with no leſs aſſurance, than *Don Quixot* did the whole *Manſion*, for an *Enchanted Caſtle*. He ventures, that *reaſon* he hath, in all Companies. And in *Defiance* of any Drink the weary *Traveller* pleaſeth to call for, which if ſaid to be *mingled*, or adulterate, He calls the Name of *God*, and the *perſon* of the *Drawer* to atteſt the contrary. The *Sign* is the *Scheme*, by *which*, you may take the *Aſcendent* of his

Un-

Understanding. And his *Half-peck* the Measure of his *Conscience*; of which his *Osteler* is *Chancellor*, and keeps the *Key*: Making no more of Cheating a Strangers *Horse*, than his *Mistress* doth in Over-reaching both. If her *Husband* be grown into his perfect *Symmetry*, his *Belly* bears the exact proportion, of the *biggest Jugg*. And his *Face* of *That*, in the *First Edition of Fryer Bacon's Works*. He suits his *Discourse*, as *Fidlers* do their *Songs*, to the *Ears* of the *Hearers*: choosing rather to offend *Truth*, than his *Company*. And in case any *ride double*, he proclaims them *Man* and *Wife*: as far more willing to foment *Bawdery*; than *foul* two pair of *Sheets*. He is seldome far out of the *way*, though *Drunk* or *Hang'd*: The First, being as neat the *Road* of his *Profession*, as the Latter is that of his *Desert*.

Youth, Wit, *and* Beauty, *like a* painted Sign
May stay *a Stranger*: *but* 'tis sprightful Wine,
And decent Welcome *makes him* light *&* Dine:
For who will pass his time in such a place,
Where nought appears; of moment, but a Face?

Deductions

Deductions from the History of the Earl of Essex, *who was executed for* Treason, *under the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth; *with a modest Answer to Sir* Henry Wotton.

THE *Love* of a *People*, may be observed of no less dangerous a consequence for a *Subject* to *trust* to, than their *hatred* proves to such *Princes* as are so unwary as to *neglect* it. For after that Sr. *Robert Cecil* had prevailed so far upon his own Brother, the *Earl of Exeter* (most else refusing the employment, out of *Love* or *fear*) as to proclaim *Essex* Traitor: He appeared, deserted by all, but some few unfortunate Gentlemen, whose lives, out of *Gratitude*, or *Want*, depended wholly on his.

Not is the *Affection* of a *Prince*, less *permanent*, than their *Anger* deadly. And in the first of these the *Queen* was *unconstant*, in the latter *inexorable*. Wherefore, if during so long a reign, no great quantity of blood was spilt, it rather resulted from her *Subjects Innocency*, than

than any *propenſity to forgiveneſs*, inherent *in her Nature*. Nothing coming ſo hardly from her, as a pardon; I mean of ſuch faults, as concerned her ſelf. And in this ſhe ſhewed a rare prudence; in becoming able to raiſe a *profitable uſe* out of a *Natural defect*, for (born of that ſex, allowed by all as the weakeſt in Judgement) ſhe lay more obnoxious to a Cenſure of inſufficiency, than that of Tyranny: the ſternneſs of whoſe looks, hath in all ages ſcared away contempt, the inſeparable Companion of a cheap and effeminate Nature.

So as neither *Leiceſter*, *Hatton*, nor any other *Minion*, could ever extract ſo much favour from her, as might ſerve their *Lands* or *Heirs*, from refunding what their *Fathers* had miſ-ſpent: Her *favours* keeping no *ſervant* company, beyond the *Land of the Living*. The moſt apparent reaſon why the *Lady Elizabeth Hatton* caſt her ſelf into the contaminated arms of *Attorny Cook*. Nor could her diſpoſition to *ſeverity* be in any thing more manifeſt, than the extraordinary means uſed but to defer the execution of the *E.* of *Southhamp.* who had beſides pity, the enemies of *Eſſex* to plead for him: yet ſhe continued inflexible towards mercy, till the ſame hand that led her into the temptation, did like the *Devils*, ſhew her the glory ſhe was fallen from already, in her Subjects opinion, by quenching his, and their enemies *malice* with the blood of their *Darling*. Nor was this hard-extracted *Mercy*, unſuitable to the emergency of the preſent occaſion, for (as I have been often told) not only thoſe that did in the peoples opinion, contribute

tribute to the murder (as many called it) of the *Earl*: But the *Queen* her ſelf, was expoſed to ſome publick affronts. The ſpectators ſhe paſſed through in every Town, (eſpecially in *London*) becoming far thinner and muter than formerly they were.

Some Princes love not that *Child* is in order to *ſucceed* them: but all abominate a *ſtranger* lyes under that notion; the cauſe that ſhe, contrary to the well-being of the *Subject*, no leſs than the priviledge of *Parliament* committed *Pigot* and *Wentworth*, for moving to know the *Man*, and beheaded *Eſſex*, but for making a ſmall demonſtration of offering himſelf: though the later *Roman Tyrants* took that little ſecurity they did enjoy, from a quite contrary courſe. But this was at a time when the *blood Royal* lay extinct, and the poſſeſſion of the *Crown* fell to his ſhare had the *Keeneſt Sword* and ſtrongeſt head-piece: In which caſe the moſt probable way to ſecure the Prince, was the declaring his Succeſſor, who to preſerve his own dignity, was likely to take revenge on any ſhould aſſaſſinate him in the Throne before, a thing very ordinary in thoſe depraved times; not ſo in *England*, where during her Reign, there were no leſs than fourteen titles, good and bad, which by her Silence were all kept quiet. For till ſhe made a publick declaration, none had a juſt cauſe to complain. And in caſe any endeavoured to have ſucceeded by force, ſhe had a fair choice out of the reſt to make oppoſition, none being free from ſome conſiderable defect or other. The *Parliament* remain-

ing wholly at her devotion, and no ill-willers to *Essex*; The *Commons* being as fearful of the *Regiment* of a *Stranger*, as the *Peerage* were jealous of the house of *Harford*, or any else deducible out of their own Body. Fortune appearing then in all particulars so strong on *Essex* side, as she seemed rather *unable*, than *unwilling* to bear out the charge of his folly, who put her upon such Impertinent errands, as the *Dutch*-youth do fools on the second of *April*: Through which she became so far tired, as she was forced at last to return him a *Block* and a *Hatchet*. This unconstant Deity, being in the number of such *giddy Auxiliaries*, as none can be sure what side she will take, and therefore not to be trusted by a wise man. The most steady if not signal events, having been brought about without any other mediation of hers, but what is unpossible to be avoided; in which sense she is rather capable of the title of *Providence*, than *Luck*. Fortune resembling a Cane, which no wise man, but in an unavoidable necessity will hazard the weight of his whole rest upon. Wherefore the *Earl of Essex*, if he had not been befated with a strong Opinion of success in all his actions, (though built on the weakest foundation) would never have referred his life and future well-being to the sole arbitration of *Chance*, and the unconstant guidance of a *Womans Affection*: which being only skin-deep, could not but in a *Court*, furnish a person of far less magnitude than a Soveraign power with choice enough: Especially after his enemies, for their own security, had so far Indulged his, as to furnish

furniſh him with an Army paid by the Q. and choſen by himſelf. Nor were the greateſt families then in rebellion in *Ireland*, (rendred by the moſt probable reports) leſs obedient to him than his reſpective *Officers*: And if theſe advantages had been too little to have ſet the Crown upon his head, after the deceaſe of his Miſtreſs, he might have had any men, or money from the moſt *Catholick King*; who would have advanced his deſigns, or any natural *Engliſh* Subjects elſe, that had but oppoſed the *Scottiſh* Succeſſion. Which was formerly projected by *Leiceſter*, and the only viſible occaſion he managed the *Engliſh* force in the *Netherlands* with ſo little care, and worſe ſucceſs, who immediately began to proſper upon his remove. But *Eſſex* had *Religion* and *Fidelity*, inherent in his Nature, *Humours* known ſo Incompatible with *Ambition*, as it was no leſs *unſafe* for him to court a *Crown*, than it did after prove *Incongruous* and miſ-becoming, for his more frigid Son to make *Love*, and importune *Ladies*. Nor is this a conjecture of my own, but what I have often heard averred by the friends of Sr. *Charles Danvers*, whoſe youngeſt Siſter married my eldeſt Brother. And that the *Honeſty* of *Eſſex* (never denied to exceed his *Diſcretion*) might for the preſent moderate his *Ambition*: But how he would have behaved himſelf in the company of an *abſolute power*, may be ſafer now *diſputed* by us, than at that time *experimented* by the *Queen*. *Succeſs* in thoſe that wear it, expunging like *Aqua Fortis* all former marks of

Allegiance or *Probity*. For though his firſt thoughts might be of no larger extent, than to remove *Cecil*, and other declared enemies, under the notion of evil Counſellors, that poured into her Ears ſuch tales as were diſadvantagious to the true *Religion*, and *Policy* of the *State*: yet that point gained, he could not from a lower ſtation than a *Throne*, have ſatified ſo many, wiſer men than himſelf, whoſe clearer inſight into the advantages he was then in poſſeſſion of, had tempted to be adventurers with him. So as all the favour could have accrued to his Miſtris from a more happy ſucceſs than befell the *Earl*, exceeded not the Complement of continuing her in his *lap*, (a place not likely to ſute long with her Age, or his occaſions. Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, having been too reſerved, quietly to have endured from an *Adminiſtrator* (ſhe remaining yet in being) ſo profuſe an expence of honour and riches, as was expedient to be thrown to ſuch a needy party, as had already imbarqued themſelves in his ſervice, whoſe fidelity and ſtrength (the *Nurſlings* of *hope*, *reward and preferment*) was requiſite to maintain him on the Stage. For though poſſibly, *his deſires* might terminate in a removal of *his Enemies*; They had no *boneſter deſign* than to raiſe themſelves, without much reference had to the means. From whence it is eaſie to contemplate the prodigious Diſparities in Rebellion; which though begun upon never ſo *juſt*, *moderate*, or *Religious* pretences, *neceſſity*, *ambition*, and *Humane frailty* will interject ſo many new and unexpected preten-

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ces, and events, as it rarely concludes, without the ruine of it ſelf, or the Commonwealth; which once ſuffered to grow intemperate and run over, it doth like a *Pot* conſume its own fat, and loſeth its former ſtrength and glory, by raiſing the droſs and dregs of her Subjects, uppermoſt.

One cauſe of his *preſumption* was, The fond *Opinion* he had, that ſhe would not rob her *eyes* of the great *delight* ſhe took in his *Perſon.* A *fantaſtical* over-weening of himſelf, and womans *Affection*, to whom, no *ſingle* mans perfections was ever yet found *continually Grateful.*

Now ſuch as wonder, how ſhe durſt bring him to the Scaffold, for *fear* of her own Honor, are not throughly ſtudied in the boldneſs of Princes (whoſe faces are continually *ſteeled* with the varniſh of a *groſs Flattery*, put upon their *worſt Actions*) no more than the compunctions of Dying Men, who deſire *rather to clear* themſelves *towards God*, and the *world*, than impertinently to *accuſe others:* Beſides, a hope of *Pardon*, not to be *cut off* but with his Head, was a ſufficient Reaſon to reſtrain him from breaking out into any intemperate *ranting* againſt his *Prince*; As *Biron* of *France*, did not long after, moſt Imprudently fall into, in reference to his King, *Henry the Fourth*, Dying in the opinion of the generality, rather like a *mad man*, than a *Chriſtian.* Yet had *Eſſex* unloaded his boſome of all it did contain, it might poſſibly not have *ſwelled* to ſo great a bulk, as did then appear in the *Opinion* of the moſt: or that it may after be blown up to by flatulent Poſterity

(ſeldome endued with ſo *even a fortune*, as to have *truth* and *falſhood* weighed to it in an *equal Ballance*) manifeſt in a number of Relations extant at home and abroad. The *Blood* ſhe inherited, no leſs than her *Fathers humour*, having procured her no good opinion from the *Church*, according to whoſe *Dialect* the generality did heretofore, out of *Ignorance*, or *reverence*, tune their *belief*.

Had he been true to his *firſt Principles*, moulded by ſome more dexterous heads than his own, which was to *ſpin* out his time, together with the *Iriſh* war, till a certain report of the *Queens ſickneſs*, or *death* had come to him, from ſuch an *unqueſtioned* number of his own *Confidents*, as were able to have *aſſured belief*; It might in reaſon have preſented him with his wiſh, or at worſt ſo much *power*, as would have made him *arbitrator* of the *next ſucceſſion*. But *haſt*, proceeding from a *Natural Impatience* to live out of *England*, and the *contrary advice* received from ſome near about him (*ſuborned* to deſtroy him) rendered all addle: by perſwading his return *without an Army*, upon a *falſe report* raiſed of her *Majeſties Death*, the time aſſigned, wherein to ſhew himſelf. And to this end, the Wars in *Ireland* were prolonged, with no weaker endeavours, than *Mountjoy* uſed after to conclude them, Owner of no other *project*, but the reducing of that *Province* unto obedience: *Eſſex* preſuming ſo far upon the peoples affections, that he thought the *ſound* of his coming able to raiſe an Army where ever he came.

Eſſex

Eſſex, if he had been maſter of parts ſtrong enough to have *mounted* him into the *Saddle* of *Soveraignty*, might have found by the beating of the *Parliament* (a true *pulſe* of the Nation) That there was no probability to raiſe any advantagious diſtemper for him, during the life of the *Queen:* The people apprehending little other cauſe of diſcontent, but what might ariſe from the thought, that their preſent felicity depended only on the continuance of an *Old Lady*; After whom, they expected more *diſmal dayes*, than their *Love* could ever have imagined from the Government of *Eſſex*.

Wherefore to lay the *Scene* of any thing carried but the *vizard* of a *Rebellion* in *London* (at that time abounding with *riches* and *felicity*) was an act ſavouring of ſo great *Imprudence*, as I wonder his *enemies* ſhould *bring him to it*, or his *friends* ſuffer him to *proſecute:* As I have often told ſome at that time near about him, who made me no other anſwer, but that he periſhed between his own *preſumption*, and others *Infidelity*. His *ſecurity* might have been more, and *loſs* leſs, had he gone into *Wales*, when he paſſed through *London*, where he had great love both by *Inheritance* from his *Father* (a *good Landlord*) and his own purchaſe, alwayes of a *liberal Nature*. Nor did he fail to wear a *Leek* on St. *David*'s day, but beſides, would upon all occaſions *vindicate* the *Welch* Inhabitants, and *own* them for his *Countreymen*, as *Q. Elizabeth* uſually was wont, upon the firſt of *March*. And by this the *Earl* grew

ſo *popular* amongſt theſe people (eſpecially ſuch as had *little to loſe*,) that without all queſtion, ſo many would have appeared in his favour, as might have procured him *audience* from her *Majeſty*, and not improbably the *removal* of his enemies, under that notion hated by the *generality*, no leſs than thoſe linked to him, under a more ſtrict friendſhip. Or if this had been too hard a task, their *ſtrength* and *means* was not likely to want power, to land him again in *Ireland*, from whence he had been drawn by his *own folly*, and the *wiſdom* of his *maligners*; where not only the *Engliſh*, but the *natives* (to thoſe in actual *Rebellion*) were his reported *ſervants*. The *Catholicks*, till they were better *Cajoled* by the *Scotiſh Kings* Confidents, not obſtructing his Deſigns. And how ſecure he would have been, in that *Province*, may be gueſſed by *Tyrone* the Capital *Rebel*, who notwithſtanding more impartial indeavours than the *Lord Lieutenant Eſſex* had uſed, did obtain his *Pardon*, in a manner maugre the *Engliſh forces*.

Eſſex was *too honeſt* to have removed every Impediment lying in the way to *Soveraignty*, nothing but *death* being able to *gagg* a perſon *robb'd* of a *Crown*. Yet her *Succeſſor* met with no *oppoſition*, though bred in an *air* ever *Peſtiferous* to this *Nation*; which *wiſely* conſider'd, might have tempted a people to have *diſputed* his entrance, till caution given. But the *riches* and *felicities* enjoyed, during the incomparable Reign of *Queen Eliz.* hung yet like *holy dayes* at their fingers ends, by which they

they were become ſo *effeminate*, and *unadviſed*, as to chooſe rather to fall into an *Incurable Conſumption*, than *hazard* a *little* the *ſhaking* by a few fits of a *Fever*; which if choſen, might not unlikely have proved as *wholſome Phyſick* for *King James* as *England*; Who wanting a *Legal pretext*, had nothing left him in ſafety ſtrong enough to refell the *Brazen-faced* Impudence of his *Countreymens* Importunity. But the laſt *Scene* of *Princes*, like the *Cataſtrophe* of a Play, is ſo hudled up, and every one ſo intent upon his own particular Intereſt, (being muffled by *hope* or *fear*) as that is left meerly to the diſpoſition of *Fortune*, which ought only to be intruſted with *Prudence* her ſelf. Nor did the readineſs of the *Scots* to Arm, (in hope of ſo much *plunder*, as this Nation might afford, ſhrouded under the ſpetious pretence of *Henry* the 7. eldeſt daughter) portend leſs in the ears of the *unreſolved*, than a poſſibility of *Conqueſt*, the moſt *ungrateful ſound* to the formerly *free People* of *England*. Neither did theſe *conjectures* receive ſmall *aggravation* from thoſe formerly ſuborned, to promote the entrance of the *Stuarts*, who if *Eſſex* had remained true to his principles, might have been ſaluted on the *borders*, by an *Army* ſtrong enough to have *moderated* the *Scots* conditions, or *advanced* his *own*. Though it was the univerſal Opinion, that *Eſſex's Ambition* did like the great *Earl* of *Warwick's*, terminate in a deſire to bring in *James* on his own ſcore.

It is not probable the *Earl* carried any evil meaning towards the *Common-wealth*, becauſe

becauſe neither his *enemies*, nor *friends* are found to mention any endeavour in him to call in a *Forreigner*: Wherefore if the *Crown* was his *Miſtreſs*, he uſed the moſt *decent* way of *wooing* her, which was only through the *Mediation* of her *native Subjects*. Yet I doubt whether he had juſtly calculated the weight of this *Circumſtance*, That *Conſcience is as dangerous in an Uſurper, as Cruelty, and exceſs is deadly, and undecent, in him doth Legally ſucceed.*

I have heard it, though looked upon by me as a *Paradox*, that *Eſſex* would have vindicated the *Engliſh freedome*, by reviving ſuch *antient Priviledges* as had been pretermitted, during the *Tyrannical* Reigns of the two laſt *Henries*; And no wayes indulged by *Queen Elizabeth*, which not extending all her time beyond a few particulars, was then leſs diſcernable. No act of hers being regiſtred ſo contrary to the grain of her own people as the death of this man; the *Queen of Scots* being looked upon as a *Catholick*, which in the general dialect of *England* at *that time*, ſignified no leſs than a *ſworn enemy to God and the Prince*, (ſo *zealous*, if I may not ſay *furious*, are *all changes*) that it was paſſed over, without any apprehenſion of *honour*, or *pity*, as juſtified by the cruel *Maſſacre* committed not long before upon the *French Hugenots*, at the inſtigation of that *Kings Mother*. An Act through which the *Integrity* of *Princes* was much *abated*. But whether this Nation by reaſon of her *divers titles*, and *diſparity in eſtates*, was capable

pable of that *abſolute freedome*, hath ſince been fancied by ſome, I leave to the Arbitration of greater *Politicians*.

Only this I am confident of, that no fair capitulation could have diſobliged *K. James*, who lay under too many *doubts*, and ſtrong *deſires*, to have refuſed ſo *peaceable* an *entry* as he found, upon any *lawful limitations*; manifeſt in the advice given to his Son; Wherein are more *Popular Rules*, than himſelf was ever obſerved to *follow*.

By the vaſt quantity of tears let fall from the *Multitude* upon his *Grave*, may be noted, how far eaſier it is to find *pity*, than *protection*, though his *friends* if *united*, would have proved the *major part*. Who for want of a *good head-piece* to follow, this *univerſal affection*, like *floting Atoms*, made only a *world of Calamity* for himſelf and his party. But this blow paſt recalling, ſet the peoples teeth ſo much an edge, as all the *Queen* did after, was thought *bitter*, and her Government too *pieviſh* and *effeminate* for ſo *warlike* a Nation: Nor did ſhe decline leſs in the opinion of the *Court* it ſelf, no counſel daring after to appear, but what was ſuitable to the *Cecilian guſto*.

Here may be noted, with what *Circumſpection* Princes ought to play their Game, ſince *Counſellors* their *Card-holders*, are not ſeldome *Cheaters*, and intend more *particular* Intereſts than their *Maſters*: As appeared in the remove of *Eſſex*, a man thought far more neceſſary to the *Queen's* Service, and *Englands* ſafety, than ſuch as purchaſed his ruine.

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The banding of two factions, being the moſt probable way to keep, this already *ſuperannuated Princes* from falling into *contempt*. For ſuch Commands, as under *both parties* would have been readily obeyed, were after *one* had got the *abſolute diſpoſure* of affairs, wholly neglected. *Eſſex*'s return (which no queſtion would have been indeavoured, upon the leaſt diſcontent of her Majeſty) *appearing* of ſo diſmal a conſequence to his *enemies*, as nothing might *procure* it, was thought *ſafe*, or what did *obſtruct* it, *dangerous*. Nor was it poſſible for this *planet*, ſo near its *declenſion*, to *Influence* another *party*: None daring to run the *Hazard* of an unavoidable future *Ruine* upon the *contemplation* of a *year* or *two*'s power; which was more than her *age*, and *preſent weakneſs* did in any probability promiſe.

This proves, it had been the *Queens* better *policy*, to have conceded the Life of the *Earl* to the *tears*, and *vows* of the *people*, through which their *Love* had not only been *preſerved intire*, but (what was next conſiderable) ſo great a *reſtraint* put upon the *contrary Cabal*, as might *contain* them within the compaſs of *Obedience*; out of *fear* ſhe ſhould have let looſe this *Lyon*, who to that end ſhe might have kept in the *Tower*, his *death* not being probable, as her *Subjects* ſtood affected, to have countervalued the advantage of his *Life*. And this overſight was the more inexcuſable, becauſe the Anceſtors of the *Earls* chiefeſt enemies had by the ſame arts rendred her *ungrateful* to the people of *England*,

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in a like caſe of *ſeverity* towards the *Duke* of *Norfolk*.

Nor did ſhe apprehend till it was too late, the wound given her *own Power*, through the mediation of the *Hangman* in the death of *Eſſex*; Not being able ever after, to moderate the *Inſolency* of thoſe, that now did not ſtick to *ſlight* her, and ſtory openly in her ears the neceſſity ſhe lay under, to declare the *Scotch King* her *Succeſſor*, leſt the *Parl.* ſhould be (for their own *ſafety*) compelled to *do it themſelves*; which had not been omitted, but (as I have been told) to endear *King James* more to ſome *particular families*, of which the *moſt noble* for birth, found afterwards little cauſe to *applaud* their *Deſign*. Neither were other *reports* wanting, which being *uſual* at the *Death* of all *Princes*, I ſhall here wilfully omit, as quite unſatisfied of their truth. Nor had I ſaid this, but that there hath been from the beginning of the *uncivil wars* (wherein none were *maſters* of what they had) diverſe *imperfect Copies* of my own hand left in the cuſtody of one did Print ſome of them, under a *nameleſs Author*, though very falſe. And might have done this, if not timely prevented.

Nor did this blow terminate only in the ruine of the *Earls friends*, but extended to the diſadvantage of his *Maligners* themſelves, apparent in Sr. *Walter Raleigh*, who wanting *ſtrength* though not *wit* to be the *Treaſurers Corrival*, periſhed becauſe not thought to own *humility* enough to be his *Servant*: it being *more ſafe at Court, to have many Enemies of equal power*,

power, than one false ambitious friend, that hath attained to the absoluteness of Command. The agitations and tempests arising from *considerable factions* in the houses of Princes, (resembling some winds at sea, by which men are driven though by contrary means, to one and the same end) would of necessity have *miscarried*, or *perished*, had any *single party* prevailed. The one still thinking it honourable to *preserve* and *advance* what the other esteems safe to *suppress* and *destroy*. And this *Raleigh* was often heard to say, he did not *apprehend*, before his *Genius* had dictated it to him, as he came in a *Boat* from the execution of the *Earl* of *Essex*, which was done at the *Tower*. Nor could the wisest of his endeavours free him from the *dire effects* of this *Portent*, or to name it more properly, a necessary cause of such events, as did after befall him.

The Death of *Essex*, like a Melancholy cloud, did shade the prospect of her peoples affection, from being so discernable at the *shooting of her Dayes*, as it was during the *Dawning* and *Meridian* of her *Reign*. Yet if *Essex* had been try'd by a *Peerage* of *Angels*, they would have passed a like *Sentence* upon him, or exposed *Monarchy* to contempt. Wherefore *Prudence* cannot lay the fault at the door of her *Justice*, but the *ill-management* of her *Mercy*, as not knowing how to imploy it, toward the best advantage of her future affairs. But after an *Impartial Reflection* made, in reference to private persons averseness towards any apprehension of *defect*, we may possibly learn to wonder,

wonder, why ſhe made no better proviſion againſt *contempt*, till *that hour* a meer ſtranger to this *Princeſs*, who had all her ſails continually fill'd with *flattery* or *ſucceſs*.

Now to vindicate her *Majeſty* from the obvious *aſperſion* I have ſo often heard her *prudence* upbraided withal, (for neglecting the *Italian* mode quite, in the removal of *Mary* the *Scottiſh Queen*, and *Dowager* of *Fauce*, ſo much the more *undecent*, as the hand of a *Hangman* is leſs *honourable* than that of a *Phyſitian*.) I may ſay, That ſince thoſe, who for their *own ſakes* as well as their *Soveraigns*, thought it not ſafe to be left undone, wanted the skill or ſpirit to do it a *clandeſtine* way, it was more *diſcretion* than *folly* to *refuſe* ejecting one ſo *uncouth* her ſelf; ſuch a *leſſon* being eaſier *learned* than *forgotten*, & might have been afterward *practiſed* to her perſonal diſadvantage.

And if *reports* on all hands were not miſtaken, little thanks is due to thoſe who made the *Nation acceſſary* through this ſolemn Tryal to the *Death* of her *Mother* they meant next to ſet up. Nor can an undoubted deſire in the *Scots* to have her removed, the better to facilitate the *Succeſſion* of their *King* (who did more indulge his *Patience* than *Honour*, in paſſing *unrevenged* thoſe *bouſes*, ſprinkled by *her blood*) juſtifie their *diſcretions*, that could not but know all *Obligation* was more likely to be loſt in the *ſhame*, than found in any *grateful acknowledgement* of ſuch *actions* as theſe. And if their *Poſterity* taſte of the like *Juſtice*, they may ſacrifice repentance to ſuch nets, as themſelves ſpread

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to enſnare this *Queen* firſt, and then *Eſſex*; the fault of the laſt being in reference to the *Innocent* driving on the *deſign*, as far *below ſuch ſeverity*, as the *Majeſty* of the other was *above it*.

Nothing commends the goodneſs of *Queen Elizabeths* Reign more, than that *ſhe* and *her Subjects* ſhould have one and the ſame *Minion*, as happned in *Eſſex*: whereas the *hatred* of the people, proved after an undoubted conſequence of her *Succeſſors Love*, remaining no leſs *confident* of the *choice* of the one, than *diffident* of the others. The *Queen* wanting no *medium* to interpoſe between *her* and their *fury*: from whence grew a *confidence*, that ſhe would not countenance an unworthy man. Neither was it a ſmall advancement to this general complyance, that the people appeared not at the coſt to raiſe him. It being the cuſtome of this thrifty Prince, to let her Favourites *taſte*, not *ſurfet*, on the wealth of the *Nation*, conveying her *Largeſſes* by *Spoons*, not *Buckets*: The names of *Monopolies*, and *extrajudicial Taxes*, not being intelligible to experience all her days. Neither were her ears ſtopped againſt her peoples complaints, ever thought by her *juſt*, and ſo *fit* to receive a preſent *redreſs*; the cauſe her *Parliaments* were no further *inquiſitive* than ſhe was pleaſed to *inform* them.

Had her *Succeſſor* retained the like *Moderation*, the power of our *Repreſentative* had never fallen under the *malleation* of ſo extenſive a diſpute, which hath raiſed mens minds up to ſo impetuous a Billow, as it

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is questionable, whether that which *supported* her *power*, may not through a contrary application *utterly ruine* those may succeed. Queen *Elizabeth* being not only *fortunate* in her conduct at home, but able to *diffuse* peace and plenty over such Neighbour-Nations, as she was advised by true *Reason of State*, to maintain in *strength* and *good plight*. Not suitable to the late practice of a *Prince* that first, brake with *Spain*, then *France*, and after was hardly restrained from kindling a fire in the *Nether-Lands*, which lies in a manner in the bosom of *England*.

Now I should conclude here, but that I find Sir *Henry Wotton*, late *Provost of Eaton*, and a long time before *Ambassador* with the most Illustrious State of *Venice*, hath published a Manuscript amongst his friends, and may since be made more generall, where he offers to compare the *Duke* of *Buckingham* with the *Earl of Essex*, much to the disadvantage of the Latter, who lay in no action by, did never own that doing any thing so *ungrateful*, as might make him fear the *anger*, or beg the *favour* of a *Parliament*; much less owe his *Life* to the *dissolution* of one already called. He is not *charged* with many deeds of *impiety*, unless *Women* be cast upon his account, nor in *Justice* to be dam'd, the *latter* standing by. The awe he bare to the *Religion* then professed was discernable by his *death*, which in the opinion of many, reached something below the *Garb* of a *Souldier*; so busie are *Critics* (that like Flies scare nothing savours of *Fame* or *Infamy*) to the *Grave* it self.

That he was thought no instrument of *Tyranny* or *Oppression*, appears manifest, in the Monument of *Love*, remains still undemolished in the hearts of most *English-men*: whereas the *Duke* retains the general tincture of, &c. Nor can his well-known *bounty* to *Friends* and *Servants* expunge it, because *drained* from the *people*, or taken out of the *publick Treasure*, if not from the *general safety* of the Nation. Whereas *Essex* obliged his *Confidents* out of his *own Store*, or by other so *innocent ways*, as the *Subject* had no just cause to be scandalized at it.

The *Earls* natural parts were as good as the *Dukes*, his *Learning* and *Birth higher*, the one being of an *honourable*, the other at best but of a *Gentile extraction*. Nor can so *inconsiderate an act*, that in *charity* rather *deserves* the title of a *Riot* than of a *Treason*, come up to so great an *ingratitude* and *indignity* to the *Nation*, as *Buckingham* proceedings at *Rochel*, calculated after the *French account*, the sum of which I leave for more voluminous *Pens* to cast up; only I shall assume the boldness to say, that the *Duke* shewed no less *folly* in *undervaluing* so great a *hatred* of the people; than *Essex* did in *misapplying* their *Love*. And if his *shadows* were left exact to posterity, he was not behind him in *handsomness*, the sole and primary cause of *Villers* advancement. Only in this *Essex* came short, in having a *Mistress* would be attentive to *Reason*, from whence soever it came, whether through the *Organs* of *Friendship* or *Malice*. Whereas the *Dukes* fortune depended on *two Princes*, that in reference to *their own* weak-

weakneſs or *his ſtrength*, remained *deaf to all complaints* elſe, but what were preſented through *his own mediation*, or thoſe of his *Creatures*, with which he was ever made firſt acquainted, under no ſlighter a penalty than his diſpleaſure, ſo much *more heavier* than the *Kings*, as his *memory was better*, and *intereſt more*.

Concerning their *Deaths*, I can atteſt, the *Dukes* did occaſion no *leſs joy*, than the other did *ſorrow*, not matched by the ſaddeſt accident did happen in *Queen Elizabeths* reign; no not if her *Death* be caſt in, though *deplorable enough*, as I have often been informed by thoſe did *approve* the *ſentence*, but not the ſo *ſudden execution* of it. Nor was the *Hangman* reported to be willingly hired to do it, whereas *Felton* ſeemed to be *inſpired* by ſome *Damon*, if not the *Genius of our Nation*.

This had not been ſaid, but in vindication of that, I never found cauſe yet to queſtion the truth of, and to unwarp their judgments (if any ſuch be) that may be drawn aſide, by the goodneſs of Sir *Henry Woottons* parts, in knowing mens opinions, much contaminated by his too over-zealous celebration of this Man, as may be eaſily found in the Records of *Parliament*, to which I refer the Reader, together with what I have in this behalf written.

Some Advantages *may be deducible from* Court-Factions.

IT may be thought I hope no leſs *impertinent*, than what went before, if according to my *rambling* Method, I ſhall drop ſome conjectures in reference to a *benefit* may redound to the *Subject* from *Court-Factions*: All which *in concluſion* will reach the *Prince*, who cannot be *ſafe* and *happy*, if his *People* live *miſerably*; not likely to be avoided, where *preferments* depend wholly upon the *mediation* of a *ſingle* and *uncontrolable party*. In which caſe the *oppreſſed* have no power for the preſent to appeal to. The cauſe our later *Parliaments* have been peſtered with *clamours* and *complaints*, ſeldom if ever heard of in the *golden days* of Queen *Elizabeth*. And from *whoſe root* ſprung thoſe *branches* of *miſery*, by which the greateſt *felicity* any Nation ever enjoyed, is become over-ſhadowed, ſo that the *detection* of *corruption* in *Officers*, and the *gratification* of the *malice* of ſome, and *ambition* of others, in their *expulſions* and *puniſhments*,

ments, gave them at last the boldness to question the *integrity* of the *Crown*.

Divers persons of *equal authority*, though *both wicked*, do in experience *produce more justice* than a *greater probity* in a *single Individual*, hath been (at least in these *depraved Ages*) *heard* to *pronounce*: For though *Bribery* cannot be denied a *deflowerer of equity*, yet remaining more palpable in reference to *detection*, it may not happily be of so bad a consequence, as the effects of the more uneasily detected propensities, found to follow the inclinations of *love*, *fear*, or *hope*: as it is easily deduced from the *practice* usual in *private Families*, where a *great advantage* acrues to the *first Delator*, and *prejudice* to the *party accused*; It not lying in the *strength of Vertue*, if in any *agility of defence*, to keep a person *immaculate* from the blurs of *Calumny*, for want of *proof*, or an *indifferent ear*, which *superlative Powers* cannot be at *leisure* to afford. Nor is the advantage to be drawn from two equal *Cabals*, better discerned, than by comparing the tempers of K. *James* his *Parliaments* with those holden under the *Queen*; for the first, being wholly led by a *single* and *passionate affection* to one *Minion*, lived to see never a tolerable *Minister* relating to the *Crown*, or any in Authority so *resolute* as not to *prefer* the *Favorites command* before his *Masters*, as esteeming the *frown* of the last more *deadly*. Now the *huge rate* set upon *places* of *Judicature*, taught *Judges* to sell their *Votes* and *People* to complain: Who by *devouring* of *instruments*, came at last so well *acquainted* with their own

ſtrength, as not to ſpare the *principal* and *firſt cauſe*. One *conceſſion* ever crouding room for a *greater*, if not a more *unreaſonable* demand. Whereas ſuch inſtruments of State as *Queen Elizabeth* had uſe of, being *ſtrained* through the *double* and *contrary intereſts* of a *divided Party*, no *vertue* was *excluded*, or *vice admitted*, any way *beneficial*, or of *prejudice* to *Prince* or *People*; contrary to the cuſtom of later Times, wherein the moſt *probable deſigns* were *pinched* and *miſcarried*, through the *ſmalneſs* of their *parts* were imployed to *keep* them *on foot*. No more *ſolid Reaſon* appearing in the advancement of the moſt, but *many* or *favour*; as no queſtion will be found inſtanced in a *prodigious number* of *examples*, when *time* ſhall have *purchaſed impunity*, for the *manifeſtation of truth*; not ſo likely to have proved the *reſult* of a *divided Court*, where the *creatures* of one were the enemies of another, *no leſs powerful*; and ſo they both became liable to *accuſation*, or capable of *defence*. And from the ſparkles of this claſhing, not only perſons and actions, but the *Queens Councils* came to be refined from the ruſt and *Cankers* that after grew through the corruption of *foreign Coin*, no leſs *currant* at *Court* all my time, than pieces of two and twenty ſhillings, *Jacobuſes* themſelves. Now though *Monarchy* may (whether out of *perfection* or *defect*, I ſhall not here diſpute) make uſe of this *Recipe*, it ſeems *dangerous*, if not *mortal*, in reference to a *freer Government*, where the leaſt *ſiding* is a *ſtep* towards *Tyranny*: the *weakeſt part* being as apt

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to *call*, as a *potent neighbour* may be to *come* and *assist*, upon so *advantagious an errand*. All *disparities* or *contentions*, but *meerly rational* and in *reference* to an *universal welfare*, tending to *popularity* and *disunion*, wherefore above all things to be avoided. Nor is any *near dependance* upon a *foreign Prince*, more *mighty* than *themselves*, *compatible* with *Liberty*: which renders *lending* of vast sums little less dangerous than *borrowing*. And through which the *Catholick King* may one day attain *Genoa*; it being natural to all *Creditors* to favour their designs that *owe* them *money*, in hope of *payment*; and so become *Traitors* to the *generality*, out of the desire of a *particular reimbursment*. Such folly lies in *many Citizens*, as they prefer *destruction in gross*, before the *hazard* of their *private interests*.

But when *Power* is *monopolized* in a *single* person, *Faction* can be no more *spared* than an *eye* or an *ear*. *Kings* for the generality, out of *ignorance* in the World, if not for *want of wit*, or too much *Flattery*, being unable to value what they *give* or *receive*; or whether they *gratifie* or *depress Vertue* or *Vice*, especially if they have no *other* information but what is *deduced* from a *Minion*, whose *judgment* is no less clouded through *Pride*, than *his* is by *affection*, and a *supposition* of *worth* and *abilities* not really present; Such *Servants* owning *contrary interests* to *their Masters*, who by *bearing the charges* of those *follies* they daily commit, do not seldom prove *Bankrupts* themselves of all ought to be esteemed dear in *Soveraignty*.

Nor are those *single Trustees* of the *Royal assent*, found by practice so *impartial* in the distribution of *rewards* and *punishments*, but that they *diminish* by the first, no less their *Princes Love* than they *augment* in the latter the *Peoples hatred*; which an *even debate* would so far *moderate*, as to give such *satisfaction* as might *preserve* the generality in *obedience*, by nothing so soon *forfeited*, as a *continued succession* of *cruel punishments*, and *unjust censures*. I remember after *Felton* had given the *fatal blow* to *George* Duke of *Buckingham*, one *Savil* a lusty Fellow, formerly *burnt* in the shoulder for a *Rogue* (finding how *acceptable* the news was where ever it came) gave out, he was the man that did it: And that though an *honourable person's brother*, he wanted money to *convey* him away; upon which he was apprehended, and though not *worth a groat*, fined a considerable sum in the *Star-chamber*; to which, the *wisdom*, *equity*, and *justice of that Court*, added (because they wanted power to hang him) this *Corporal punishment*, *viz.* That he should be whipped from the *Fleet* where he lay Prisoner, to the *Pilory* in *Westminster Palace Yard*, there to be for two hours nailed, and after to lose one ear, have his nose slit, and then to be branded in the forehead; all which, as long as the *bowels of humanity would give me leave*, I looked upon: Nor was this more than half his punishment, as much being to be done to him in *Cheap-side*, but that (as I heard) the *King* more charitable than his *Judges*, did pardon it; though his perpetual residence in *Bridewel* was not remitted, till for

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another thing (some thought unlikely to be done under such a restraint) he was hanged at *Tyburn*. I had not touched upon this, as relating to a time which none can remember without being agitated by *envy* or *grief*: but to acquaint Posterity with the opinion of a *Lord*, looked upon as the wisest for counsel, (however he might have failed in reference to *Execution*) in his time: Who at dinner that day with some of the *Promoters* of the *fore-mentioned Sentence*, said, that though he hoped it would *never* be *executed*, yet it grieved him, a *president* of that high nature should remain *upon record*, no less to the *dishonour* of their *Mercy*, than the *Justice* of his *Majesty*, upon *whose score* it might not unpossibly one day *lie heavy*: Nor did it scape the notice of the next *Parliament*, as any may find, can procure a sight of a *Book* written by *Regal authority*, wherein the *Subject* was prohibited so much as to name a *Parliament*, &c. But the conclusion of the fore-mentioned prudent *Lord* was to prove, that of *all* punishments *death* was *soonest forgotten*; whereas *Whipping* and *Pilory* were *always remembred*: from whence *Governours* may observe, that *the greatest cruelty is exercised by Subjects, have had their foundations laid in pity*. Nor can this digression be thought impertinent, by those shall consider, that such *exorbitant* and *unnatural* repetitions of *Punishments*, were strangers during the domination of *two equal Factions*. Through the percussion of which, like *Flint* and *Steel*, all things came to light, which these *Pleas* might *advance*, or *eclipse* the glory of the *Prince*.

Nor

Nor should I prosecute this *Epidemical* mischief of *Favourites*, at this time common with *France* and *Spain*, but to answer such as plead for it: Whom I have heard so *impudent*, as to alledge the example of our blessed *Saviour*; and no less foolish in citing the *authority* due to the *Prudence of Italy*, where no *Pope* lives without a *Nephew*: Forgetting the whole management of the *Church* was not left to Saint *John*; nor the wise *Censeure* swayed by his *Holiness Kindred*, who being encircled on all sides with enemies, and destitute by reason of his *elective honour* of any *hereditary friendship*, cannot *in reason* provide better for his *safety*, against the *dangers* have for many Ages waited upon the *Table* and *Cup* of the *Pope*, than by raising a person to so *high A dignity* above him, as may transcend any *preferments* likely to be offered by an *enemy*. The cause he that is stiled his *Nephew*, values *his* preservation equally with *his own*. And he that shall yet seek further *satisfaction*, may find it in the unhappy management of such *Princes* affairs as have suffered themselves to be ingrossed by *Minions*, taken only upon the bare *recommendations* of their *private Affections*.

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It is the condition of thoſe in Power *to be guided by* Servants.

THey ſay of the *Whale* that ſhe is ſteered in her courſe through the guidance of a far *ſmaller Fiſh*, and a leſſer than that is reported to alter the *Natural* gale of a *Ship*, looked upon as wonders in the deep, though few things are more *uſual* and *familiar* upon *Land*. All our State-*Leviathans* being ſo far guided by their *Servants*, *Wives*, *Miſtreſſes*, or *Favourites*, that in a true ſenſe there is no *Monarchy*, all things for the moſt part ſucceeding according to the *perſwaſions* of others, if not contrary to the will of the *Prince*: A miſchief not to be quite obviated, but at the peril of falling into *obſtinacy*, (as great if not a more prejudicial extream) nor hath any King under my experience, been able to drive on his *Affairs* without grating upon one of theſe *exceſſes*. So as a Nation like that of *Egypt*, is not ſeldom governed by a *Stranger* or

or a *Jew*. There being no such thing in an unlimited sense, as an *absolute Government*, or if possible to be found, it must be in that as improperly stiled *Free*. Which proves there is no real *Liberty*, or *Power* totally *Arbitrary*, in the nature of *Things*. For though the *incomparable prudence* of the *State of Venice*, hath compounded for most of the errours committed by the Senators of *Carthage*; and Queen *Elizabeth* shunned the greatest *Rocks* of *Tyranny* (though as free from compulsion, as ever any *Prince* stood;) yet the jurisdiction of either was as remote from being purely or totally *absolute*, as the condition of their Subjects is uncapable of the name of *Freedom*. They being both too inestimable *Jewels* to be intrusted with *plassim; single*, and without any mediation from *Counsel* or *Law*. I confess the *Grand Seignior* can strangle whom he please; but it is seldom done at his own suit, no more than any desert is gratified. I my self have known many, so far *Strangers* to what was convenient, as they would scarce concede or deny any thing out of the presence of their *Secretary*. And this proceeded not seldom from a distrust there was no cause for; Manifest in the Earl of *Somerset*, who though himself owner of a competent sufficiencie, was so inchanted with an opinion of Sir *Thomas Overburies* parts, that he preferred him from a Servant to such an intimate *friendship*, as he could think nothing well educated for imployment in his *Office*, that had not passed his *Correction*, nor secret safe laid up, but in his *Bosom*: which swelled him to such a

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Monstrosity in Pride, that I have heard (not being my self then near the *English Court*) how he offered to rant at his *Servants*; and did once beat the *Coachman*, for putting his Commands under an inferiour expostulation to his *Masters*. And through this intolerable arrogance in him, and remissness in the *Earl*, the sparks first flew, that kindled the ruine of them both: friendship being no more able to maintain its interest against a *feminine Affection*, than so great a *Pride* was to confine it self within the tedder of *moderation*. The *Minions* of my time (an *epidemical* mischief over all the great Nations of *Christendom* where Monarchy sways) did, during that *Fortune*, so far transcend their *Patrons felicity*; as they could gratifie all the rest of their *passions* (quite exempt from fear or danger) being screened from both by the person of their *Prince*, whom in reason they ought to defend. It having been often averred in my experience, that all the *Kings* I have known, were found to do more for their *Favourites*, than they could be tempted to have done for *themselves*. Which may serve for a proof of this *Assertion*, that *the greatest are not free, but led in triumph by the Affections of others, through the mediation of their own*; by which means *Women* come to Govern, and *Children* to dispose of *Commonwealths*. And thus the hand of Providence, though steady in it self, doth out of a desire to appear *various* (and so more *beautiful*) not only remove the great men, but the *Pawns* so occultly, in this huge *Chess*-board of the *World*, as they seem to our giddy apprehensions,

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to be dandled in the *Lap* of a contingent *succes*. Though good or bad luck are meerly *imaginary*, like the *Arctick* and *Antarctick* Poles on which the World, as on the two ends of an Axletree, are feigned to depend. Wherefore the apparent *reason* why great men are ruled by more obscure Fools, is want of *judgment* or *sufficiencie*. The hidden Justice of God upon the Nation in general, or persons in particular, who are naturally unworthy through disobedience, or have rendred themselves so, by a male-administration of Affairs: The cause their Power is shared with meaner People, first sought to in all suits incident to their Places. And this Custom hath brought into such credit amongst *men*, as forgetting how much it favours of *weakness*, they labour to make it *necessary* in the *Court of Heaven*. As if God were more *importuned*, or less affected by our immediate Addresses, than when we offered our *Prayers* through the intercession of the *blessed Virgin*, or some other *Saint*: conformable to a memorable Answer to a *Catholick*, made by King *James*, *That the Ruler of all things was not subject to doze like him.*

Yet wise men govern in their own persons, as *Joseph* is said to rule *Egypt*, for had not his Servants used to afford more *obedience* than *advice*, so dishonest an action in outward appearance, could never have passed without expostulation, as the putting the *Cup* in *Benjamins Sack*. To end this Discourse, nothing *plausible* ought to be referred to a *Servants* dispatch, nor that which is less *Popular* done by a *Master*, since

ſince he that is uſed to rake in *dirt* muſt imploy an *Inſtrument*, leſt the *filth* ſhould ſtick too apparently on his fingers. Thus *Princes* juggle by *Confederacie*, whilſt meaner men rule in their own perſons.

FINIS.